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# HISTORY

OF

# ENGLAND

FROM

## THE PEACE OF UTRECHT,

TO

## THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

VOL. III.

# HISTORY

OF

# ENGLAND

FROM

## THE PEACE OF UTRECHT,

TO

## THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

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BY

LORD MAHON.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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TO THE BINDER.

The four Engravings are to be placed at the end of the Appendix.

LORD MAHON'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND, Vol. III.

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## ERRATA.

Page 190, line 14. Since this passage was in print, some papers from the Hardwicke Collection have convinced me that my conjecture (and as a conjecture only did I give it) as to the extension of General Stanhope's projected Bill for the Relief of Roman Catholics was erroneous. It appears that General Stanhope, in common with the other statesmen of that day, by no means contemplated giving any legislative power to them, but he wished to mitigate the Penal Laws as to their persons and property.

Page 284, line 6. The date of 1783, which I adopted from Mr. Chambers, should in all probability be 1785; since, from the letters of Sir Horace Mann, which I have since had an opportunity of reading, it appears that Charles was still at Florence during 1783 and 1784, nor yet joined by his daughter, the titular Duchess of Albany.

Page 294, line 1, for *stare* read *stir*.

THE

# HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

## THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

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## CHAPTER XX.

CHAP. XX. 1738.

THE death of Queen Caroline, like that of George the First, produced no such effect as the Opposition had expected: each of those events had been hailed as the sure forerunner of disgrace to Walpole, yet each left him unshaken and secure. After the loss of his Royal patroness he continued to enjoy the same place as before in the King's confidence, while that in His Majesty's affections was speedily filled up by Sophia de Walmoden. George had known her at Hanover in his latter journeys during the Queen's life; now however she was brought to England, and created Countess of Yarmouth—the last instance in our annals of a British peerage bestowed upon a Royal Mistress. Her character was quiet and inoffensive; and though she did not at first possess, she gradually gained considerable political influence over the King. "The new

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"northern actress," writes Lady Mary Wortley, "has very good sense; she hardly appears at all, "and by that conduct almost wears out the disap- "probation of the public."*

At nearly the same period the gossips at Court were gratified with another topic for their comments; the marriage of Sir Robert to his mistress Miss Skerrit, who had already borne him a daughter. This marriage appears to have taken place immediately on the death of the first Lady Walpole, but was at first kept secret†; nor did Miss Skerrit survive her new honours above a few months. For her daughter Walpole afterwards obtained from the crown a patent of the same rank and precedence as though a legitimate child; a favour it is said that had never yet been granted to any person but a Prince.‡—It is remarkable that Mr. Coxe while devoting three volumes to the memoirs of Walpole, refrains in his partiality to his hero, from any allusion whatever to this second marriage.

* To Lady Pomfret, 1739. Letters, vol. ii. p. 213. ed. 1837. It appears, however, that the grief of the King for his consort continued a considerable time. One day, on playing at cards, some queens were dealt to him, "which," as we are told, "renewed his trouble so much, and put him into so great a "disorder, that the Princess Amelia immediately ordered all "the queens to be taken out of the pack." Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 40.

† Mr. Ford to Swift, Nov. 22. 1737. Swift's Works, vol. xix. p. 192.

‡ Lady Louisa Stuart, Introductory Anecdotes to the Wortley Correspondence, p. 35.

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1738.

On the meeting of Parliament in January 1738, the "Patriots," bereft of their expectations from the Court, could only turn their efforts to reduce the army, or to inflame the national quarrel with Spain. Their clamours, at the same time, for a diminution of troops and for a renewal of war, might have appeared a little inconsistent to any men less maddened by their party zeal. Nevertheless, a motion to substitute the number of 12,000 for 17,000 soldiers was made by Shippen, and seconded by another ardent Tory, Lord Noel Somerset. The reply of Walpole was amongst the ablest he ever delivered: piercing through the subterfuges of his opponents he avowed his fear of the Pretender, and expressed his regret that so many Members should affect to turn that fear into ridicule. "No man of common prudence," added he, "will now profess himself openly a Jacobite: by "so doing he not only may injure his private "fortune, but must render himself less able to do "any effectual service to the cause he has em-"braced; therefore there are but few such men in "the kingdom. Your right Jacobite, sir, disguises "his true sentiments, he roars out for revolutionary "principles; he pretends to be a great friend to "liberty, and a great admirer of our ancient Con-"stitution; and under this pretence there are "numbers who every day endeavour to sow dis-"content among the people. These men know "that discontent and disaffection are like wit and

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"madness, separated by thin partitions, and there-
"fore they hope that if they can once render the
"people thoroughly discontented, it will be easy
"for them to render them disaffected. By the ac-
"cession of these new allies, as I may justly call
"them, the real but concealed Jacobites have suc-
"ceeded even beyond their own expectation."* So crushing was this retort, that the Patriots prudently refrained from dividing. But in a subsequent debate they derived great advantage from the folly of Colonel Mordaunt, who, speaking on the ministerial side, narrowed the question to a party one, by declaring that he thought "the keeping up an army "absolutely necessary for supporting the Whig "interest against the Tory." Lord Polwarth immediately rose, and, in a speech impressive both from its eloquence and as coming from the heir of one of the first Whig families in Scotland, exclaimed that this argument could mean only that because the people were discontented, therefore they must be oppressed. "For my part," said he, "I think "no interest nor any party of men ought to be sup-
"ported if a standing army becomes necessary for
"their support."† The division which ensued gave 164 votes to the Opposition, but 249 to the Minister.

In their second object, to embroil their country with Spain, the mock-Patriots were more successful.

* Parl. Hist. vol. x. p. 400. † Ibid. p. 460.

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For many years had the traders to South America complained of grievances; for many years had the desire of Walpole to adjust them amicably been branded as tameness and timidity. Imperious as he seems at home, cried the Opposition, he is no less abject and crouching abroad! Some powerful lines, ascribed to Bishop Atterbury, and therefore written before 1732, sum up Sir Robert's character by calling him "the cur dog of Britain and spaniel of Spain!"* This cry was now revived as the commercial complaints increased. Yet a careful and dispassionate inquiry may convince us, that this case of the merchants was mainly founded on error and exaggeration; that no allowance was made for the counter claims on the side of Spain; and that in many instances their alleged hardship, when stripped of its colouring, amounts only to this—that they were not permitted to smuggle with impunity.

The commercial relations between Spain and England had been regulated by treaties in 1667 and 1670. In neither were the expressions sufficiently clear and well-defined; the jealousy of the Spaniards inducing them rather to connive at than to authorise the commerce of strangers, and to withhold a plain acknowledgment even where they could no longer refuse the practical right. The second treaty, however, distinctly recognises the British dominions in

* Atterbury's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 414.

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America, but provides that our ships shall not approach the coasts of the Spanish colonies, unless driven thither by stress of weather, or provided with a special licence for trade. The first treaty as distinctly admits the liberty of seizing contraband goods, and of searching merchant vessels sailing near the ports or in the seas of the respective nations. It was afterwards contended that this right applied only to the mother countries, and not to the colonies of either*; nevertheless, it is certain that this right was constantly exercised by the Spanish Guarda Costas (or Guard Ships), in the West Indies, with greater or less severity, according to the fluctuations of Spanish policy, or the changes of Spanish governors. Sometimes the right of search dwindled into a mere form, sometimes it swelled into a vexatious and oppressive grievance.

The treaty of Seville, in 1729, professed to replace the trade to America on its former footing. But the development of British commerce and the ingenuity of British merchants were always overleaping the narrow bounds prescribed to them, and

* The Opposition in 1738 were by no means unanimous on this point. Lord Carteret, in his speech of May 2., maintains, that the stipulations of 1667 are only for Europe, while Pulteney, on the 16th of March, had contended, in the other House, that "this treaty of 1667 is a general treaty, which compre-"hended America as well as every other part of the world." However, both speakers took care to come to the same conclusion.

whenever they received a short indulgence, next claimed it as a constant right. Every artifice was employed to elude the Spanish regulations, and a vehement clamour raised whenever those regulations were enforced. It is admitted that the annual ship which the South Sea Company had been empowered to send*, was always attended by other vessels which moored at a distance, and as it disposed of its cargo, supplied it with fresh goods; thus fulfilling the letter whilst violating the spirit of the treaty. It is admitted that other vessels, and even squadrons, frequently put into the Spanish harbours, under pretence of refitting and refreshing, but with the real object of selling English merchandise.† In some cases, again, the vessels did not enter the harbours, but hovered off the coasts; where the long-boats of smugglers repaired to them, and unshipped their cargoes. By such means was English merchandise largely poured into the Spanish Colonies: their revenue consequently suffered; and the annual fair of Panama, intended as the mart of South America, and once the richest in the world, became shorn of its splendour, and deserted by its crowds.

That the Spaniards should strive to prevent this illegal traffic was just; that they should do so with occasional violence and outrage, was natural and

* See vol. ii. p. 5.

† Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain, vol. iii. p. 300. On this whole subject Macpherson's History of Commerce is very meagre and unsatisfactory. Compare vol. ii. p. 542., vol. iii. p. 215.

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perhaps unavoidable. The Guarda Costas would sometimes exercise the right of search, beyond their coasts or in the open seas; in several cases men were severely treated, in several others ships were unjustly detained. "Upon the whole," writes Mr. Keene from Madrid, "the state of our "dispute seems to be, that the commanders of our "vessels always think that they are unjustly taken "if they are not taken in actual illicit commerce, "even though proof of their having loaded in that "manner be found on board of them; and the "Spaniards, on the other hand, presume that they "have a right of seizing, not only the ships that "are continually trading in their ports, but like-"wise of examining and visiting them on the high "seas, in order to search for proofs of fraud which "they may have committed; and, till a medium be "found out between these two notions, the "Government will always be embarrassed with "complaints, and we shall be continually negotiat-"ing in this country for redress without ever being "able to procure it."*

There is no doubt that though the English were most frequently to blame in these transactions, several cases of injustice and violence might be imputed to the Spaniards. These cases were carefully culled out, and highly coloured by the British merchants: these were held out to the British public as fair samples of the rest, while a veil was

*To the Duke of Newcastle, December 13. 1737.

thrown over the general practice of illicit traffic in America. The usual slowness of forms at Madrid and the difficulty of obtaining redress, even in the clearest cases, added to the national indignation in England: it was also inflamed by a denial of the right to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and disputes on the limits of the new settlements which the English had lately formed in North America, and which, in honour to the King and Queen, had received the names of Georgia and Carolina. CHAP. XX. 1738.

These grievances of the British merchants, embodied in angry yet artful petitions, were urged by the Opposition in repeated attacks and with combined exertions. First came a motion for papers, next the examination of witnesses, next a string of resolutions, then a Bill for securing and encouraging our trade to America. The tried ability of Pulteney led the van on these occasions, and under him were marshalled the practical knowledge of Barnard, the stately eloquence of Wyndham, and the rising genius of Pitt. William Murray, the future Earl of Mansfield, also appeared at the bar as counsel for the petitioners, and thus commenced his brilliant public career. Every resource of oratory was applied to exaggerate the insults and cruelties of the Spaniards, and to brand as cowardice the Minister's wise and honourable love of peace. It was asserted that the prisoners taken from English merchant-vessels had been not merely plundered of their property but tortured in their persons, immured in dungeons, or compelled to work in the Spanish

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dock-yards, with scanty and loathsome food, their legs cramped with irons and their bodies overrun with vermin. Some captains and seamen who were brought to the bar gave testimony to these outrages, and were then implicitly believed. Yet our calmer judgment may remember that they were not examined upon oath, and had every temptation to exaggerate, which interest, party zeal, or resentment can afford; that to inveigh against the Spaniards was then considered a sure test of public spirit; and that they were told to expect upon the fall of Walpole a large and lucrative indemnity for their pretended wrongs.

But the tale that produced the most effect upon the House, and found the loudest echo in the country, was what Burke has since ventured to call "the fable of Jenkins' ears."* This Jenkins had been master of a trading sloop from Jamaica, which was boarded and searched by a Spanish Guarda Costa, and though no proofs of smuggling were discovered, yet, according to his own statement, he underwent the most barbarous usage. The Spanish Captain, he said, had torn off one of his ears, bidding him carry it to his King, and tell His Majesty that were he present he should be treated in the same manner. This story, which had lain dormant for seven years, was now seasonably revived at the bar of the House of Commons. It is certain that Jenkins had lost an ear, or part

* Thoughts on a Regicide Peace, p. 75.

of an ear, which he always carried about with him wrapped in cotton to display to his audience; but I find it alleged by no mean authority, that he had lost it on another occasion, and perhaps, as seems to be insinuated, in the pillory.* His tale, however, as always happens in moments of great excitement, was readily admitted without proof; and a spirited answer which he gave enhanced the popular effect. Being asked by a Member what were his feelings when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians, "I recommended" said he, "my soul to "God, and my cause to my country." These words rapidly flew from mouth to mouth, adding fuel to the general flame, and it is almost incredible how strong an impulse was imparted both to Parliament and to the public. "We have no need of "allies to enable us to command justice," cried Pulteney, "the story of Jenkins will raise volunteers."†

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On his part, Walpole did not deny that great outrages and injuries had been wrought by the Spaniards, but he expressed his hope that they

* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 372. Coxe expresses a doubt whether Jenkins was really examined at the bar of the House, because, as he states, "no traces of his evidence are to be found in the Journals" (Memoirs of Walpole, vol. i. p. 579.) Yet early in the Journals of March 16. 1738, appears the following entry: "Ordered, that Captain Robert Jenkins do attend this House immediately." Later in the same day we find that the House went into committee on the Spanish grievances, with Alderman Perry in the chair, and that he reported to the House, "that they had "heard counsel and examined several witnesses." Amongst these in all probability was Jenkins.

† Speech May 15. 1738. Parl. Hist. vol. x. p. 850.

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might still admit of full and friendly compensation; he promised his strenuous exertions with the Court of Madrid, and he besought the House not to close the avenue to peace by any intemperate proceedings and especially by denouncing altogether the right of search, which the Spaniards had so long exercised, and would hardly be persuaded to relinquish. The charge that his love of peace was merely a selfish zeal for his own administration, he repelled with disdain: "I have always," said he, "disregarded a popularity that was not acquired by a "hearty zeal for the public interest, and I have "been long enough in this House to see that the "most steady opposers of popularity founded upon "any other views, have lived to receive the thanks "of their country for that opposition. For my part, "I never could see any cause either from reason or "my own experience, to imagine that a minister "is not as safe in time of war as in time of peace. "Nay, if we are to judge by reason alone, it is the "interest of a minister, conscious of any mismanagement, that there should be a war, because by a "war the eyes of the public are diverted from examining into his conduct; nor is he accountable "for the bad success of a war, as he is for that of "an administration."* By the ascendency of Walpole, a large majority of the Commons continued to withstand the manifold proposals and attacks of Pulteney. But in the Lords, the eloquence of Car-

* Speech of Walpole, May 12, 1738.

teret and Chesterfield, feebly stemmed by the min- CHAP. XX.
isterial speakers, carried some strong resolutions, 1738.
which were presented as an Address to the Crown.

But these Parliamentary difficulties, however great, were not the only ones that beset the Minister. He had also to struggle against the wayward-ness and falsehood of the Spanish Envoy, Thomas Fitzgerald, or, as he was commonly called, Don Thomas Geraldino, who caballed with the Opposition in private, and held most intemperate language in public. The whole progress of the negotiations, and several other state secrets were disclosed by this agent to the party out of power, while he openly declared in all companies that the English Ministers were trifling with and imposing upon the people in pretending that the Court of Spain might yet be brought to any terms, or would recede in the slightest degree from its colonial rights and privileges. To such an extent did he carry this behaviour, that the Minister sent a formal complaint to the Government at Madrid. Geraldino on his part assured them that the views of Walpole, though professedly pacific, were in truth inconsistent with the security of the Spanish trade, and that they could not be more effectually served than by fomenting to the utmost the discontents and divisions in England; and by these representations he continued to retain their confidence and his employment.*

Another source of embarrassment to Walpole was

* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 368.

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the conduct of his own colleague, the Duke of Newcastle. Both of them loved power with their whole hearts, but with this difference; Walpole loved it so well that he would not bear a rival; Newcastle so well that he would bear any thing for it. Under Stanhope's government he had professed unbounded admiration and friendship for that minister.* Immediately on the death of Stanhope he had transferred the same sentiment and submission to the Walpoles, and became Secretary of State in 1724, as their deputy and agent. But though willing to accept even the smallest morsel of authority, it was only till he could grasp at a larger. A favourable conjuncture of circumstances seemed now to open to him by the death of Queen Caroline, the growing unpopularity of Walpole, and the loud clamour for a Spanish war. Such a war, he found, was congenial to the military spirit of the King: it was also, as we have seen, eagerly pressed in Parliament; and of these wishes, accordingly, Newcastle, though still with great caution, made himself the mouthpiece in the Cabinet. With the consent or connivance of His Majesty, he sent angry instructions and memorials to the British Minister in Spain, which it required all the skill of Walpole to modify and temper; and which greatly aggra-

* Thus, for instance, he writes to Mr. Charles Stanhope from Claremont, July 29. 1720, "Pray send me what news there is, "and particularly what comes from my dearest friend Stanhope. "He is always doing good, and always successful," &c. Coxe's MSS. British Museum.

vated the difficulties of the negotiations. The same leaning to warlike measures was likewise shown, but, as I believe, on more public-spirited grounds, by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke and by Lord Harrington. The former, on one occasion, speaking in the House of Lords, inveighed with so much vehemence against the Spanish depredations, that Walpole, who was standing behind the throne, could not forbear exclaiming to those around him "Bravo! Colonel Yorke, bravo!" Nor durst Walpole at this crisis, with the inclinations of both King and people against him, pursue his usual haughty course, and at once cashier his wavering colleagues.

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Through these and many other obstacles derived from the pride of Spain, did Walpole prosecute his negotiation with the Government at Madrid (for the Court had now returned from Seville), and still endeavour to prevent an appeal to arms. He took care, however, to give weight to his pacific overtures by displaying his readiness for war. A squadron of ten ships of the line, under the command of Admiral Haddock, sailed for the Mediterranean; many single ships were dispatched to the West Indies; letters of marque and reprisal were offered to the merchants; and the colony of Georgia was supplied with troops and stores to resist the Spaniards, who had threatened to invade it from St. Augustine. Directions were likewise sent to the British merchants in the several seaports of Spain, to register their goods with a notary

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public in case of a rupture. Such demonstrations were not lost upon the Spaniards, who, lowering their tone, gave orders that several prizes they had captured should be restored, and that seventy-one English sailors taken by Guarda Costas, and confined at Cadiz, should be sent home. New instructions likewise came out to Geraldino, and he delivered a message purporting that his master was inclined to enter into terms for conciliating past differences, and for preventing them in future. The negotiations that ensued were carried on first between Geraldino and Walpole in London, and afterwards between Mr. Keene and the Spanish Minister, Don Sebastian de la Quadra, at Madrid. The mutual demands for damages sustained in commerce were compared and balanced, and those of England upon Spain, after the deduction, were fixed at 200,000*l.* On the other hand, the Spaniards urged a claim of 60,000*l.* for the ships taken by Admiral Byng in 1718, a claim which had been left doubtful during Stanhope's administration, but which was, at least in its principle, acknowledged in the treaty of Seville.* The remaining balance in favour of England was therefore 140,000*l.*, which the Court of Madrid proposed to pay by assignments upon the American revenues. But the English Ministers, knowing the tediousness and uncertainty of that fund, preferred to make an

* See vol. i. p. 474. vol. ii. p. 204.

allowance for prompt payment at home; and the allowance agreed upon was 45,000*l.*, thus reducing the sum due from Spain to 95,000*l.*

The sum being thus determined, a Convention was founded upon it, and finally signed by Keene and La Quadra on the 14th of January 1739. It stipulated that this money should be paid within four months from the date of the ratification; that this mutual discharge of claims should not however extend to any differences between the Crown of Spain and the South Sea Company, as holders of the Asiento contract; that within six weeks two plenipotentiaries from each side should meet at Madrid, to regulate the pretensions of the two Crowns, as to rights of trade, and as to the limits of Carolina and Florida; that their conferences should finish within eight months; and that in the meantime no progress should be made in the fortifications of either province.

Such is the famous Convention. Omitting, as it did, all mention of the Right of Search, and reserving the most intricate matters for subsequent negotiation, it was rather a preliminary to a treaty than a treaty itself; but it had the merit of satisfying the most urgent claims, and of providing for the rest a just and speedy decision. In its progress, however, it became clogged and entangled with another claim. La Quadra had always maintained that 68,000*l.* was due to his master from the South

* See the statement of Horace Walpole in the House of Commons, March 8. 1739. Parl. Hist. vol. x. 1246-1258.

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Sea Company with respect to the Asiento contract, and declared that the Convention should not be ratified unless that money were paid. Mr. Keene, in answer, observed that the Government of England and the South Sea Company were entirely distinct, and that the one had no control upon the other; but he added, that if 68,000*l.* should be proved as really owing, he would undertake that the debt should be discharged. This La Quadra affected to consider as a positive and unconditional promise; and, on the very point of signing the Convention, delivered to Keene and sent to Geraldino a formal protest, declaring that his Catholic Majesty reserved to himself the right of suspending the Asiento, unless the sum of 68,000*l.* should be speedily paid by the South Sea Company. The British Envoy was much embarrassed; but at length, knowing the anxiety of Walpole to come to some conclusion before the meeting of Parliament, he consented to sign the Convention, notwithstanding the protest, and to receive the latter, not as admitting its demands, but merely as referring them to the future consideration of his Government.

The Convention being transmitted to London, was announced to Parliament, with "great satis-"faction," in the King's opening speech. Yet, even before its terms were distinctly understood, a strong spirit of opposition appeared against it; and even Sir John Barnard condescended to such wretched cavils as the following: The King's speech had stated that plenipotentiaries would meet

for regulating all the grievances and abuses which interrupted our commerce in the American seas: now to regulate abuses, said Barnard, implies a continuance of them, but only under another form!— "It requires no great art, no great abilities in a "minister," exclaimed Walpole, "to pursue such "measures as might make a war unavoidable. "That is a very easy matter; but Sir, how many "ministers have you had, who knew the art of "avoiding war, by making a safe and honourable "peace?.... Suppose that the administration had "joined last session in the popular outcry for "war, and that a vigorous war was actually en- "tered into, can any gentleman say that this would "have stopped the mouths of those who are resol- "ved to find fault at any rate? In such an event, "may we not easily imagine to ourselves that we "hear a violent opposition man declaiming on the "benefits of peace; telling the world that a "trading people ought, by all manner of means, to "avoid war; that nothing is so destructive to their "interests, and that any peace is preferable, even "to a successful war?"* CHAP. XX. 1739.

When however the articles of the Convention were made known there arose a general ferment, not only in Parliament but amongst the people. Loud and fierce was the cry. The Right of Search not renounced! The limits of Georgia not defined! The Spanish Captains in the West Indies, after all their cruelties and depredations, to escape

* Parl. Hist. vol. x. p. 952.

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without condign punishment! Our victory in 1718, to be taxed and paid for at the rate of 60,000*l.*! Such were the complaints of the public, heightened and inflamed by the Opposition writers; while those of the Minister defended his Convention so unskilfully, that as a contemporary assures us, the injury which he suffered from the press was even greater when it was employed in vindicating than in impeaching his conduct.* According to Horace Walpole the elder, "ambition, avarice, distress, "disappointment, and all the complicated vices that "tend to render the minds of men uneasy, are "got out of Pandora's box, and fill all places and "all hearts in the nation."†

In Parliament, the friends of the Minister, though diminished in numbers, were not daunted in spirit. Earl Cholmondeley in the Lords moved an Address, drawn up with great skill and judgment, to thank His Majesty for concluding the Convention,—to express reliance, that in the further negotiations effectual care would be taken for securing the British navigation in the American seas, and to promise, that should His Majesty's just expectations not be answered, the House would support him in vindicating the honour of his Crown and the rights of his people. Notwithstanding the two last clauses, this Address provoked a sharp resistance, and called forth several able speeches, amongst which

* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 387.

† To Mr. Trevor, March 16. 1739. Coxe's Life of Horace Lord Walpole.

those of Chesterfield and Carteret were especially admired.* The Duke of Argyle not only forsook the ministerial ranks, but appeared amongst the Opposition orators; and the Prince of Wales gave his first vote in Parliament in favour of the latter. On a division, 71 of the Peers present voted for and 58 against the Address,—a large increase in the usual strength of the minority.

In the House of Commons the same Address was moved by Horace Walpole, in an elaborate speech of above two hours, beginning at half past eleven in the morning.† His statement, however clear and convincing, was immediately met by a burst of angry eloquence. First, Sir Thomas Saunderson complained that no revenge had been taken on the Spanish Captain who cut off Jenkins's ear. "Even "this fellow" said he, "is suffered to live to enjoy "the fruits of his rapine, and remain a living testi- "mony of the cowardly tameness and mean sub- "mission of Great Britain!" Lord Gage inveighed against the insufficiency of the payments; Lyttleton against the Right of Search. But by far the ablest speech was that of Pitt, who on this occasion seems first to have acquired the ascendency which he ever afterwards retained in the House of Commons. "Is this" he cried "any longer a "nation, or what is an English Parliament if, with

* "Lord Chesterfield's speech is prodigiously applauded very fine and very artful." Mr. Orlebar to the Rev. H. Etough, March 3. 1739. See also Maty's Life, p. 168.

† Mr. Selwyn to Mr. T. Townshend, March 10. 1739.

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"more ships in your harbours than in all the "navies of Europe, with above two millions of "people in your American colonies, you will bear "to hear of the expediency of receiving from Spain "an insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonourable "Convention? Sir, I call it no more than it has "been proved in this debate. It carries fallacy or "downright subjection in almost every line; it has "been laid open or exposed in so many strong and "glaring lights, that I cannot pretend to add any "thing to the conviction and indignation it has "raised."

He thus concluded, "I will not attempt to enter "into the detail of a dark, confused, and scarcely "intelligible account. But Spain stipulates to pay "to the Crown of England 95,000*l.* By a pre- "liminary protest of the King of Spain, the South "Sea Company is at once to pay 68,000*l.* of it; if "they refuse, Spain, I admit, is still to pay the "95,000*l.*: but how does it stand then? The "Asiento contract is to be suspended; you are "to purchase this sum at the price of an exclusive "trade, pursuant to a national treaty, and an im- "mense debt of God knows how many thousand "pounds, due from Spain to the South Sea Com- "pany. Here, Sir, is the submission of Spain by "the payment of a stipulated sum; a tax laid upon "subjects of England, under the severest penalties, "with the reciprocal accord of an English Minister, "as a preliminary that the Convention may be "signed; a condition imposed by Spain in the most

"absolute, imperious manner, and received by the Ministers of England in the most tame and abject. Can any, verbal distinctions, any evasions whatever, possibly explain away this public infamy? To whom would we disguise it? To ourselves and to the nation; I wish we could hide it from the eyes of every Court in Europe. They see Spain has talked to you like your master, they see this arbitrary fundamental condition, and it must stand with distinction, with a pre-eminence of shame, as a part even of this Convention. This Convention, Sir, I think from my soul is nothing but a stipulation for national ignominy; an illusory expedient to baffle the resentment of the nation; a truce without a suspension of hostilities on the part of Spain; on the part of England a suspension, as to Georgia, of the first law of nature, self-preservation and self-defence; a surrender of the rights and trade of England to the mercy of plenipotentiaries; and in this infinitely highest and sacred point, future security, not only inadequate, but directly repugnant to the resolutions of Parliament and the gracious promise of the throne. The complaints of your despairing merchants,—the voice of England has condemned it. Be the guilt of it upon the head of the adviser: God forbid that this Committee should share the guilt by approving it!"* CHAP. XX. 1739.

* Parl. Hist. vol. x. p. 1280-3. Mr. Selwyn, a strong Ministerialist, writes the next day to Mr. Townshend, "Mr. Pitt

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The debate was closed by a speech from the Minister, with his usual skill, but not with his usual success, for he found his majority dwindled to only 28; the numbers being 260 against 232. This appeared to the Opposition leaders a favourable opportunity to execute a project which they had for some time brooded over, and which was recommended to them by no less an authority than Bolingbroke: to withdraw or secede in a body from the House of Commons. By this means they hoped to heighten the national ferment, to represent the cause of corruption as all-powerful, and yet at the same time, to withhold the Minister by popular odium, from pursuing his measures in their absence. Accordingly, on the day after the Resolution of Horace Walpole was carried in Committee, and on the Report of it being brought up to the House, Pulteney who had reserved himself for this occasion, opened another attack on the Convention, in which he was ably followed by Wyndham. A second division which ensued having only confirmed the last, Wyndham immediately rose, and with much solemnity, speaking both for himself and for his friends, took leave of that House, as he declared for ever. "In a future Parliament," he said, "he "might perhaps still be at liberty to serve his "country as before, but now being unable to dis-

"spoke very well, but very abusively." See Coxe's Walpole, vol. iii. p. 519. Mr. Orlebar, another placeman, likewise alludes to some "young gentlemen, who took great personal liberties." March 10, 1739.

"cern the least appearance of reason in any one "argument offered on the Ministerial side, he "must conclude either that the majority was "swayed by other or secret arguments, or that he "himself wanted common sense to comprehend the "force of those which he had heard. In the first "case," he continued, "he could not with honour "sit in an Assembly determined by such influences; "in the latter case, he looked upon himself as a "very unfit person to act as a senator: and in "either case, therefore, he thought it his duty for "the future to retire, and content himself with "offering up his prayers for the preservation of "his country."

So strong and unmeasured were some of the expressions of this speech that, as the Ministers believed, it was the wish of the speaker to be sent to the Tower, and thus to stir the minds of the people as a martyr in their cause. At the moment Mr. Pelham fell into the snare, and was actually rising to move his commitment, when Walpole with more sagacity prevented him, by rising himself and thanking his opponents, as he said, for throwing off the mask.* We can be on our guard, added he, against open rebels, but not against secret traitors. He reminded Wyndham how twenty-five years before he had been seized by the vigilance of Government, and pardoned by its clemency, he upbraided

* Mr. Selwyn to T. Townshend, March 10. 1739, and Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 405.

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him for the ill use of that clemency, and only feared that the seceders would not be as good as their word, and would come back. "For I remember," said he, "that in the case of their favourite Bishop "(of Rochester), who was impeached of High "Treason, the same gentleman and his faction "made the same resolution. They then went off "as traitors as they were, but their retreat had not "the detestable effect they expected and wished, "and therefore they returned."*

A Secession is a measure that has been several times attempted in the House of Commons, but always with such signal failure that the experiment will probably never be repeated. An individual may sometimes be justified for withdrawing; a party never. In such cases the public have uniformly asked whether spleen and disappointment might not have some share in the decision—whether the country is best served by inactivity and silence—whether if the Constitution really be in danger from a corrupt majority, there is no surer remedy than to leave that majority unresisted and increased. This it soon appeared was the general and prevailing sentiment. Even at the outset three eminent members of the Opposition, Sir John Barnard, Lord Polwarth, and Mr. Plumer, of Hertfordshire, with a more far-sighted policy than their friends, refused to join

* Parl. Hist. vol. x. p. 1323. I cannot find however this secession of 1723 recorded in any of the publications of that time.

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them in their retreat, and continued to attend their duty as before.* As to the others (about sixty in number), scarcely had they embarked upon their new course before they perceived its ill effects, and regretted their decision. They hoped to avail themselves of a call of the House, fixed for the next Monday, either as a pretext for returning to their posts, or as an occasion for being taken into custody, and becoming objects of popular compassion. But Walpole perceiving their drift, baffled them altogether, and eluded the call by moving an adjournment of the House till the Tuesday. So far from his career being checked by the Secession, as his enemies expected, he declared that no event in his whole administration had relieved him from more embarrassment. The Government measures now passed easily and smoothly, with seldom a speech, and never a division to arrest them. Bills were introduced and carried in behalf of the woollen manufacture and of the sugar Colonies; and though the repeal of the Test Act was again proposed by a section of Walpole's friends, the others rallied round him so effectually that the motion was rejected by a larger majority than on the last occasion.

But the question on which the Secession was most advantageous to the Minister was undoubtedly

* Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 76. The Duchess predicts, amongst the ill consequences of the Secession, that "Sir Robert Walpole may now keep all the money raised "from the public for himself and his brother!"—Was this the very best topic for her Grace to choose?

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the Danish Subsidy, by which we stipulated to pay annually 250,000 dollars for three years, in return for a promise of the King of Denmark to hold ready 6000 men for our service, if required. It is alleged that the French Government had endeavoured to draw Denmark into a separate alliance with itself and Sweden against England, and had made other and more considerable offers, which it was our interest and duty to forestall.* But as it appears to me, there is no proof nor probability of such endeavours, beyond the assertion of a Danish Minister who wished to enhance his terms, and the belief of an English Envoy who wanted an excuse for his employers. The secret motive of this treaty, as of too many others, was not English but Hanoverian, and regarded the possession of a petty castle and lordship called Steinhorst. This castle had been bought from Holstein by George the Second, as Elector of Hanover, but the Danes claiming the sovereignty had sent a detachment of troops against it; a skirmish ensued, and the Danes were driven from the place. The Court of Copenhagen, much incensed, had made preparations to avenge the insult; and it was precisely at this period that the well-timed treaty of subsidy calmed their resentment, and obtained the cession of their claim. It is, according to my judgment, a mere evasion to assert in apology for Walpole that the two transactions, though identical in point of time, were not con-

* See Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 609., and his MS. Collections, Brit. Museum.

nected in any other manner. The Opposition leaders, from their country retreats, exclaimed, and not without much truth, that Steinhorst was bought with British money; and Bolingbroke, with his usual exaggeration, soon afterwards expresses his "fear that we shall throw the small remainder of "our wealth where we have thrown so much "already, into the German gulph, which cries "Give, Give, and is never satisfied."* CHAP. XX. 1739.

The Session having closed in such unusual tranquillity, Sir Robert redoubled his exertions to bring the differences with Spain to a pacific issue; but the invectives of the pseudo-patriots had unfortunately served not merely to rouse animosity in England, but to awaken a corresponding spirit in Spain. Like all subjects of despotic monarchies, the Spaniards ascribed the insults of the British Opposition to the fault of the British Ministry; and in order to resent the first, determined to assail the latter. When the plenipotentiaries met, in pursuance of the Convention, loud complaints were heard that the required sum of 68,000*l.* was withheld by the South Sea Company; and it was declared that the King of Spain thought himself at liberty, in consequence, to seize their effects, and to suspend their Asiento for negroes. The continuance of the British squadron in the Mediterranean gave scarcely less offence; while it remained there, said La Quadra, no "grace or facilities" were to be ex-

* To Lord Marchmont, June 9. 1741. Marchmont Papers, vol. ii.

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pected, as the honour of the King his master would not admit any condescension with such a scourge hung over him. But above all, the Court of Madrid, galled at the denial of their Right of Search in the English Parliament, assumed a far higher tone respecting it, and intimated that unless it were admitted as the basis of negotiation there would be no need of any further conferences.

Notwithstanding this haughty tone, all hopes of peace had not yet vanished. Cardinal Fleury, with his usual conciliatory temper, offered the mediation of France; and undertook to guarantee the immediate payment of the 95,000*l.* demanded from Spain under the Convention, provided only the English squadron were withdrawn from the Mediterranean.* Walpole however well knew that the English nation was now too highly irritated to admit of any compromise, however just and reasonable. There are humours in the body politic as in the human frame, that can only be cured by their own excess and festering, and must be worse before they can be better. Such a spirit had at length been raised by the Opposition in England. The King also was impatient for vigorous measures, being quick in anger, fond of the army, and, like most Princes, thinking himself a great military chieftain. Thus urged, both from above and from below, Walpole perceived that the time for palliatives had passed, and that he was reduced to this plain alternative—to engage in war,

* Earl Waldegrave to the Duke of Newcastle, Paris, Aug. 15. 1739.

or to retire from office. He decided for the former. The most active preparations now began; the squadron of Haddock, so far from being withdrawn, was reinforced; Sir Chaloner Ogle was ordered to the West Indies with another; and Sir John Norris hoisted his flag on board the Namur, at Chatham. Diplomatists were likewise set in movement: Horace Walpole embarked for Holland to require the auxiliary troops stipulated in case of hostilities; and Mr. Keene received his final instructions, with a view no longer of preserving peace, but of justifying war. He was directed to declare, in most peremptory terms, that the King his master insisted on an absolute renunciation of the Right of Search —on the immediate payment of the sum fixed by the Convention—on an express acknowledgment of the British claims in North America. These demands being, as was foreseen, refused, or rather evaded, a Declaration of War against Spain was issued in London on the 19th of October. CHAP. XX. 1739.

To those who consider the unavoidable miseries of war, not only to the vanquished, but even to the victors—the lives lost and the bodies maimed in battle—and worse than loss of limb or of life, the sad bereavements and broken hearts at home—to those who recollect how long England had enjoyed, and how highly thriven by, the blessing of peace—to them there must be some matter of surprise in the universal and rapturous joy with which this Declaration was received. Exultation spread from man to man like a contagious illness; and depending as little on

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reason, or reflection. Each felt as though he had attained some special and personal advantage. The Spanish colonies it was thought would prove an easy prey, and amply reimburse all the expences of an armament against them. Already were the treasures of Potosi grasped in anticipation; and again did the golden dreams of the South Sea Company float before the public eyes. The stocks which had been latterly declining rose immediately. The bells peal'd from every steeple in London. Still louder were the shouts and acclamations resounding from the large and delighted multitude which followed the heralds of the Declaration and poured after them into the City. Several chiefs of the Opposition (for they and they alone were in truth the gainers) joined the joyful procession. The Prince of Wales himself was present; nor did His Royal Highness disdain to stop before the Rose Tavern at Temple Bar, and drink success to the war.

On reviewing the whole of the transactions that prepared and produced the Spanish quarrel, we shall find ample reason for condemning, though on different grounds, both the Opposition and the Minister. To inflame a headstrong resentment—to kindle an unjust and unprofitable war—to serve their party at the expence of principle—and to wound their antagonist through the sides of their country—such was the conduct of those who arrogated the name, but forsook the duty, of PATRIOTS! These noisy bawlers with NO SEARCH as their favourite cry, who exclaimed that unless that right

were explicitly renounced by the Spaniards, there should be no alternative but hostilities;—these very men, only ten years afterwards, cheerfully concurred in a peace that left the Right of Search altogether unnoticed and secured! But why enlarge upon the accusation, when Walpole's opponents have themselves pleaded Guilty. "Some years after," says Mr. Burke, "it was my fortune to converse "with many of the principal actors against that "minister, and with those who principally excited "that clamour. None of them, no, not one, did in "the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify "their conduct. They condemned it as freely as "they would have done in commenting upon any "proceeding in history in which they were totally "unconcerned."* CHAP. XX. 1739.

But was the Minister more free from blame in yielding to this clamour? Was it not beyond all doubt his duty to stand firm against it so long as it could be resisted, or to retire if it became irresistible? Yet at this the critical, the turning point of his political character, Walpole still unworthily clung to his darling office, thus proving that a love of power, and not a love of peace as has been pretended, was his ruling principle. It was a sin against light. No man had a clearer view of the impending mischief and misery of the Spanish war. On the very day of the Declaration, when joyful peals were heard from every steeple of the City, the Minister mut-

* Thoughts on a Regicide Peace, p. 74.

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tered, "They may ring the bells now; before long "they will be wringing their hands."* Yet of this mischief and misery he would stoop to be the instrument!

It is alleged, indeed, that Sir Robert did actually tender his resignation to his Sovereign and recalled it only at the Royal request; but this, were it true, would not suffice for his justification, and it seems moreover to rest merely on some loose and apologetic expressions of his brother Horace many years afterwards. Yet how shortsighted is personal ambition! Like avarice, in its baser stages, it cannot part with present possession, even for the largest future returns. Had Walpole withdrawn upon this question, its subsequent unpopularity would have retrieved his own, and the revulsion of national feeling would speedily have borne him back to office, more uncontrolled and mighty than before. By remaining at the helm, on the contrary, Sir Robert secured but a brief respite; and, as we shall find, was ere long overwhelmed by that tremendous tempest, which though aimed only at the steersman endangered the vessel itself.

* Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 618.

## CHAPTER XXI.

CHAP. XXI. 1740.

THE year 1740 opened under no favourable auspices for Walpole, whether as regarding the peace of Europe or the stability of his administration in England. Abroad, the war with Spain, however unwillingly begun, must now be vigorously urged, and there was this further evil attending it, that a rupture with France would almost inevitably follow. This was a consequence that Sir Robert had always foreseen and feared; it had been one of his main motives for peace, although of too delicate a nature for him to allege in debate. The monarchs of Spain and of France, bound together by close ties of kindred, always thought themselves natural allies, and the "Family Compact" existed in their minds long before it was concluded as a treaty or called by that name. Under the Regency of Orleans, indeed, different maxims prevailed, the Regent having good reason to consider the King of Spain not as a kinsman but as a rival. But under Fleury the old system returned in full force: he had used every endea-

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vour to avert a war between the Courts of London and Madrid; when, however, that war actually ensued, he became more and more estranged from his English allies. The dispatches of that period display the growing coldness, and point to the probable result. In the event, as I shall hereafter show, the war between England and Spain became grafted into that which arose throughout Europe on the death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth; but had even that event not occurred, there seems every reason to believe that France would ere long have sided with Spain. This was the very evil which had been apprehended from the enthronement of the House of Bourbon in Spain; such was the very system against which Somers had negotiated and Marlborough fought; and it is remarkable, that the same events should fully justify at once both the warlike counsels of Godolphin and the pacific policy of Walpole.

At home the unpopularity of the Minister was gathering in the distance like a dark cloud on the horizon, ere long to burst in thunder on his head. He soon found that he had not bettered his condition by yielding to the foolish cry for war. Unjust clamours are not to be silenced by weak or wicked compliance; instead of appeasing their violence it only alters their direction. All the alleged misdeeds of Walpole—the Gin Act—the Play House Bill—the Excise Scheme—the corruption of Parliament,—the "unparalleled ruin" of the country, (for present distress is always called

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"unparalleled") were now urged against him in combined array. He was held forth as the sole cause of national grievances, or rather as the greatest grievance in himself. Nay, more, it is certain that had Sir Robert even declared war against all Europe at this time, he could not have freed himself from the disgraceful imputation of being a friend of peace; it would still have been thought that he was forced forward against his will, and that he would seize the first opportunity of indulging his base love of public quiet and prosperity. Such was the injustice of the moment; and there had been for some time petty riots and risings, none of importance in itself, but in their aggregate denoting and augmenting the ferment of the people.*

This ferment of the people gave of course strength and spirit to the Opposition in Parliament. The Seceders having felt the error of their course, eagerly seized the declaration of war as a pretext to change it. On the meeting of Parliament in November 1739, no sooner had the Address been moved and seconded, than Pulteney rose, in the name of the rest, to explain their altered views. He began by defending them for their Secession. "This step," he said, "however it has been hitherto "censured, will, I hope, for the future, be treated "in a different manner; for it is fully justified by

* See for example Boyer's Polit. State, vol. lvi. p. 506. Lady Mary Wortley observes, "Our mobs grow very horrible; here "are a vast number of legs and arms that only want a head to "make a very formidable body." (Letters, vol. ii. p. 212. ed. 1837.)

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"the declaration of war, so universally approved, "that any further vindication will be superfluous. "There is not an assertion maintained in it, that "was not almost in the same words insisted upon "by those who opposed the Convention. Since "that time there has not one event happened that "was not then foreseen and foretold. But give me "leave to say, Sir, that though the treatment which "we have since received from the Court of Spain "may have swelled the account, yet it has fur- "nished us with no new reasons for declaring war; "the same provocations have only been repeated, "and nothing but longer patience has added to the "justice of our cause. The same violation of trea- "ties, the same instances of injustice and barbarity, "the same disregard to the Law of Nations, which "are laid down in this declaration, were then too "flagrant to be denied and too contemptuous to be "borne. It is therefore evident that if the "war be necessary now, it was necessary before "the Convention. Of this necessity, the gentle- "men known, however improperly, by the name "of Seceders, were then fully convinced. They "saw instead of that ardour of resentment and zeal "for the honour of Britain, which such indignities "ought to have produced, nothing but meanness, "tameness, and submission to such conduct "they could give no sanction; they saw that all "opposition was ineffectual, and that their presence "was only made use of, that what was already "determined might be ratified by the appearance

"of a fair debate. They therefore seceded. "The state of affairs is now changed; the measures "of the Ministry are altered; and the same regard "for the honour and welfare of their country that "determined these gentlemen to withdraw, has "now brought them hither once more, to give "their advice and assistance in those measures "which they then pointed out as the only means "of asserting and retrieving them."

Sir Robert Walpole replied with great spirit. "After what passed last Session, and after the "repeated declarations of the honourable gentle-"man who spoke last, and his friends, I little "expected that this Session we should have been "again favoured with their company. I am always "pleased, Sir, when I see gentlemen in the way of "their duty, and glad that these gentlemen have "returned to theirs; though, to say the truth, I "was in no great concern, lest the service, either "of His Majesty or the nation, should suffer by "their absence. I believe the nation is generally "sensible that the many useful and popular acts "which passed towards the end of last Session, "were greatly forwarded and favoured by the "secession of these gentlemen, and if they are "returned only to oppose and perplex, I shall not "at all be sorry if they secede again."*

The debate on the King's Speech was not con-

* Parl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 89. Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 626. Bolingbroke is remarkably cautious in forbearing to give any opinion as to the policy of the Seceders returning, but seems

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fined to this remarkable incident; a warning it contained against "heats and animosities," being construed by the Opposition as an insult to themselves, was warmly resented. In the Commons however the Address passed unanimously, but the Lords, stirred by eloquent speeches from Chesterfield and Carteret, divided, 68 for, and 41 against the motion.

During the whole of this Session it is easy to observe the Minister's diminished strength. His supplies indeed passed without difficulty; the Land Tax was raised again to four shillings in the pound; and four millions were granted for the war,* But on most other questions, finding that he could not stand his ground, he prudently preferred concession, to defeat. When Wyndham moved a violent Address to the Crown that no peace with Spain might be admitted unless the Right of Search were renounced, the Opposition expected a great triumph, but were disappointed by Walpole declaring that he was the first to agree to the motion. When Pulteney brought in a bill "for the encouragement "of seamen," by which the public would be deprived of all share in prize-money; Walpole opposed

against it. To Sir William Wyndham, Nov. 1. and Nov. 18. 1739.

* "Four millions of money have been raised on the people "this year, yet in all probability nothing will be done. . . . "Our situation is very extraordinary. Sir Robert will have an "army, will not have a war, and cannot have a peace!" Pulteney to Swift, June 3. 1740. (Swift's Works, vol. xix. p. 323.)

it only in its first stage, but then sullenly and silently acquiesced. He agreed to an Address "that a "sufficient number of ships may be appointed to "cruize in proper stations for the effectual pro-"tection of trade;" though the motion implied that the number of cruizers had hitherto been insufficient, and that the Ministers therefore had been neglectful of their duty. Still more evident was his sense of weakness when a bill was introduced by himself for registering all seamen capable of service, and rendering them liable to summons on emergencies;—a measure which he thought absolutely needful for the speedy equipment of the fleet. According to official returns, only 21,000 seamen could be mustered in the Royal Navy during the year 1739*; while impressment from merchant shipping was an uncertain and invidious resource. Under these circumstances the Minister consulted Sir Charles Wager and Sir John Norris, the heads of the Admiralty, who declared that they could devise no other remedy but a general registry of seamen, according to the system which prevailed in France. But when the measure thus framed was laid before the House it was received with general disapprobation, and even horror, as an introduction of French measures and French despotism; it was certainly open to very grave objections, and after a faint

* See the Accounts presented to the House of Commons (Journals, January 28. 1740). This calculation of 21,516 is the average of the months, the number being less in the first months, but more in the later.

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defence was speedily dropped by the Minister. A general embargo upon shipping, to which he had recourse, was encountered with scarcely less clamour by the merchants: they called it an intolerable oppression upon commerce, and petitioned the House of Commons to be heard by Counsel against it. Their request was supported by the Opposition, but withstood by the Government, and rejected by a large majority; however, the latter soon afterwards yielded to a compromise, by which the merchants agreed to carry one third of their crew of landsmen, and to furnish one man in four to the King's ships; while on the other hand, about the 14th of April, the embargo was removed.* Who in this cautious and conceding Session could recognize the imperious and all-powerful Prime Minister?

The Opposition which at this time had gathered against Walpole might well indeed dismay him, supported as it was by so much popular favour, and comprising as it did almost every statesman of lofty talents or brilliant reputation. In each House he saw arrayed before him the accumulated resentments of twenty years. In the Lords, Chesterfield had become the most graceful and admired debater of the day. With more depth of knowledge and more force of application, Carteret was equally powerful as a speaker: he was marked out by the public voice for office, and, like Galba, would ever have been deemed most worthy of power unless he

* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 457.

had attained it.* The lively sallies of Bathurst, and the solemn invectives of Gower, continued to support the same cause; and within the last year it gained a most important accession in the Duke of Argyle. He had very many times before turned round from one party to the other, and each of his former changes may be clearly traced to some personal and selfish motive. For this last change, however, no adequate cause is assigned. His enemies whispered that Argyle could always foresee and forsake the losing side †; yet in so long a life it is not impossible that for once he might deviate into disinterestedness. Thus much only we know, that after being a zealous supporter of Walpole's administration during many years, he, in the session of 1739, stood forth as one of its most bitter, most frequent, and most formidable assailants in debate. Yet Sir Robert, still wishing to keep measures with a man of such princely possessions, shining talents, and eminent services, left him in possession of every place, pension, office or emolument, that had been lavishly heaped upon him as the price of his support. This forbearance was ere long taunted as timidity. Once in 1739, the Duke being present under the gallery of the House of Commons to

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* Major privato visus dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax Imperii, nisi imperasset. (Tacit. Hist. lib. i. c. 49.)

† "It is said that the Duke of Argyle is extremely angry. "It is a common saying that when a house is to fall the rats go "away." 1738. (Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 7.)

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hear the debate, Pulteney turned his speech to some officers who had voted against the Convention, and had in consequence been arbitrarily dismissed. "They who had the courage," cried "Pulteney, "to follow the dictates of their own "breasts were disabled from farther serving their "country in a military capacity. One exception, "Sir, I know there is, and I need not tell gentlemen "that I have in my eye one military person, great "in his character, great in his capacity, great in "the important offices he has discharged, who "wants nothing to make him still greater but to be "stripped of all the posts, of all the places he now "enjoys.—But that, Sir, they dare not do."*

Want of daring, however, was seldom the fault of Walpole where his own colleagues were concerned. Next year, finding that his moderation had but emboldened instead of conciliating his enemy, he prevailed upon the King, by one order, to dismiss the Duke from all his employments. The news roused the Highland blood of Argyle. General Keith, brother of the Earl Marischal, and a zealous Jacobite, was with his Grace when he received his dismission. "Mr. Keith," exclaimed the Duke, "fall flat, fall edge, we must get rid of "these people!"—"which," says Keith, "might "imply both man and master, or only the man!"†

* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 404.

† Letter of the Earl Marischal, June 15. 1740. Stuart Papers. I owe this extract to the kindness of the Right Hon. C. W. Wynn, who copied it at Carlton House. The original

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In the Lower House, at nearly the same moment, Sir Robert Walpole was freed from one of his most powerful antagonists, Sir William Wyndham, who died at Wells after a few days' illness. His frame had always been delicate*, and he was only fifty-three years old; for nearly half that period had he been a leading member of the House of Commons. "In my opinion," says Speaker Onslow, "Sir "William Wyndham was the most made for a great "man of any one that I have known in this age. "Every thing about him seemed great. There "was no inconsistency in his composition; all the "parts of his character suited and helped one "another."† The same authority, however, admits him to have been haughty and arrogant in temper, and without any acquirements of learning.‡ Pope extols him as "the master of our passions and his "own;" yet the latter praise, at all events, does not apply to his private life, since it appears that, though twice married§, he resembled his friends

seems to have fallen from its right order, and I could not find it among the Stuart Papers of that year, at Cumberland Lodge.

* "When I was last amongst you, Sir William Wyndham "was in a bad state of health: I always loved him, and rejoice "to hear from you the figure he makes." Swift to Erasmus Lewis, July 23. 1737.

† Speaker Onslow's Remarks (Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 562.)

‡ This is confirmed by the Rev. Dr. King: "He was not "eminent in any branch of literature." (Anecdotes, p. 179.)

§ The first wife of Sir William was daughter of the Duke of Somerset, surnamed the Proud; and the influence of that family in 1749 obtained for Sir Charles Wyndham, son and heir of Sir William, the title of Earl of Egremont.

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Bolingbroke and Bathurst as a man of pleasure.* As a statesman, he wanted only a better cause, a longer life, and the lustre of official station (one more year would have brought it) for perfect fame. Born of an ancient lineage and inheriting a large estate, he dignified both his family and his fortune. The allurements which beguiled his lighter hours may have sometimes relaxed his public application; but the dangers which crossed his career and tried his firmness, left him unshaken and unchanged. His eloquence, more solemn and stately than Pulteney's, and perhaps less ready, was not less effective; and I cannot praise it more highly than by saying that he deserved to be the rival of Walpole and the friend of St. John.

In early life Wyndham was guilty of a failing which reason and reflection afterwards corrected: he thought and spoke with levity on sacred subjects. One instance of the kind, I am inclined to mention, on account of the admirable answer which he received from Bishop Atterbury; an answer not easily to be matched, as a most ready and forcible, yet mild and polished reproof. In 1715 they were dining with a party at the Duke of Ormond's, at Richmond. The conversation turning on prayers, Wyndham said, that the shortest prayer he had ever heard of was the prayer of a common soldier just before the battle of Blenheim. "Oh God, if there "be a God, save my soul, if I have a soul!" This

* See for example the Duke of Wharton's letter of February 3 1725. Appendix, vol. ii.

story was followed by a general laugh. But the Bishop of Rochester, then first joining in the conversation, and addressing himself to Wyndham said with his usual grace and gentleness of manner, "Your prayer, Sir William, is indeed very short; "but I remember another as short, but a much "better, offered up likewise by a poor soldier in "the same circumstances: 'Oh God, if in the "'day of battle I forget thee, do thou not forget "'me!'"—The whole company sat silent and abashed.* CHAP. XXI. 1740.

To Bolingbroke, the loss of Wyndham was, both on public and private grounds, a deep and grievous blow. He deplores it in his letters, conjointly with another loss the Opposition had just sustained through the decease of the Earl of Marchmont, whose son and successor, Lord Polwarth, of course lost his seat in the House of Commons, and yet (for it was a Scotch title) gained none in the House of Lords. Polwarth was a young man of distinguished abilities, of rising influence in the Commons, of great—perhaps too great party warmth.† "What a star has our Minister!"

* Dr. King's Anecdotes, p. 7. Dr. King, then a very young man, was himself one of the party.

† "I have heard some say that Lord Polwarth and his brother are too warm; but I own I love those that are so, and never saw much good in those that are not." (Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 72.) According to Horace Walpole, Sir Robert used to say to his sons, "when I have answered "Sir John Barnard and Lord Polwarth, I think I have con-"cluded the debate." But we may distrust the truth of this

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writes Bolingbroke, "Wyndham dead, Marchmont "disabled! The loss of Marchmont and Wyndham to our country! . . . . . I can contribute "nothing, my dear Marchmont—thus I used to "speak to Wyndham, thus let me speak to you— "I can contribute nothing to alleviate your grief "unless mingling my tears with yours' can con- "tribute to it. I feel the whole weight of it; I am "pleased to feel it; I should despise myself if I felt "it less. . . . . How impertinent is it to combat "grief with syllogism! . . . . We lament our own "loss, but we lament that of our country too!"*

But whatever void the death of Wyndham may have left in the ranks of Opposition, there had—even before that shining orb was quenched—arisen in more happy augury, a still brighter star over the political horizon. What British heart does not thrill at the title of CHATHAM, or—loftier still—the name of WILLIAM PITT?

William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, was born in November 1708, of an old gentleman's family, first raised to wealth and eminence by his grandfather Thomas, Governor of Madras. It was he who brought over from India the celebrated diamond which still bears his name, and which weighing 127 carats, was the largest yet discovered.

story, which seems intended as a side blow against Pitt and Pulteney.

* To Lord Marchmont, August 8. 1740, and an extract from a letter to Pope, of the same or nearly the same date. Marchmont Papers, vol. ii. p. 224. et seq. Bolingbroke adds, "Mul- "tis fortunæ vulneribus percussus huic uni me imparem sensi."

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He had given 20,000*l.* for it on the spot, and afterwards sold it to the Regent Orleans for 125,000*l.* During the interval, we are told, that he used upon his journeys to conceal it in the cavity of one of the high heeled shoes, which he wore according to the fashion of that day. Governor Pitt acquired political importance by purchasing the burgage tenures of Old Sarum, and political connection by the marriage of his daughter with General Stanhope in 1713. His grandson, William, was a younger brother, and intended for the army, but received his education at Eton, and Trinity College Oxford. Scarce any thing is recorded of his life at either, except that even at school he was already attacked by the great bane and curse of his future life—an hereditary gout. He was much noticed as a boy by his uncle Earl Stanhope, who discerned his rising talents, and according to a family tradition used to call him "the young Marshal." His complaint increasing at Oxford, he was compelled to leave the University without taking a degree and to go abroad for his health. His tour was extended through both France and Italy, and it was his visit to Lyons that afforded the material (what does not afford it to genius?) for one of his most splendid and celebrated bursts of oratory. When in 1755 Pitt thundered against the unworthy coalition of Fox and Newcastle, he compared it to the junction of the Rhone and the Saone. "At Lyons" said he, "I remember I was taken to see the place "where the two rivers meet; the one a gentle, feeble,

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"languid stream, and though languid, of no depth; "the other a boisterous and impetuous torrent; but "different as they are they meet at last."*

On Pitt's return to England he obtained a Cornetcy in the Blues, and in 1735 entered Parliament as Member for Old Sarum. But his hopes of promotion in the former could never sway his conduct in the latter; so far from it, that he immediately plunged into strong opposition against the all-powerful Minister. For such opposition had the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham been tyrannically deprived of their commissions, and the Cornet soon shared the fate of the Colonels. After one or two able and ardent speeches he was dismissed the service, at a time when, as Lord Chesterfield assures us, his patrimony was only 100*l.* a year.† His talents, however, had already attracted general notice: he was ere long appointed Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, and continued to inveigh against the Minister with unabated energy and with expanding powers.

"At this period the Opposition had been reinforced by so many able men, who gradually fell off from Walpole, and gathered against him nearly all the talent of the country, that there seemed no longer any opening left for a youth of promise. "But Pitt speedily showed, that even in the thickest crowd there is room enough for him who can reach it—over and upon their heads! He towered high

* Thackeray's Life, vol. i. p. 229.

† Character, by Lord Chesterfield. Works, vol. iv. ad fin.

above all his contemporaries, and if he still yielded to Pulteney or to Wyndham, it was to their weight and experience, and not to superior talent. His friend Lyttleton had, at first, been esteemed his equal, but the difference was soon displayed between a lofty genius, and merely a cultivated mind,—between the rising oak of the forests, and the graceful and pleasing but propped and feeble creeping plant.

Let us now endeavour closely to view and calmly to judge that extraordinary man, who at his outset was pitied for losing a Cornetcy of Horse, and who within twenty years had made himself the first man in England, and England the first country in the world. He had received from nature a tall and striking figure, aquiline and noble features, and a glance of fire. Lord Waldegrave after eulogising the clearness of his style, observes that his eye was as significant as his words.* In debates, his single look could sometimes disconcert an orator opposed to him. His voice most happily combined sweetness and strength. It had all that silvery clearness, which at the present day delights us in Sir William Follett's, and even when it sank to a whisper it was distinctly heard; while its higher tones, like the swell of some majestic organ, could peal and thrill above every other earthly sound. Such were his outward endowments; in these, as in mind, how far superior to Lyttleton, who is described to us, as having "the figure of a spectre

* Memoirs, p. 15.

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"and the gesticulations of a puppet!"* Even the gout, that hereditary foe, which so grievously marred and depressed the energies of Chatham in his later life, may probably have quickened them in his earlier. In fact, it will be found that illness with all its pains and privations, has both enjoyments and advantages unknown to stronger health. Who that has for weeks together been bound to the narrow and stifling confinement of a sick-room, can forget the rapture with which he first again stepped forth to inhale the balmy breath of summer, and behold the whole expanse of an azure sky? Thus also the distemper of Chatham, while it shut out the usual dissipations of youth, either allowed or enforced the leisure for patient study, and might induce him to exclaim: Such are the compensations afforded in the all-wise scheme of Providence!

Of this leisure for study Lord Chatham had availed himself with assiduous and incessant care. Again and again had he read over the classics; not as pedants use, but in the spirit of a poet and philosopher; not nibbling at their accents and metres, but partaking in their glorious aspirations; warmed by the flame, not raking in the cinders. As to style, Demosthenes was his favourite study amongst the ancients; amongst the English, Bolingbroke and Barrow.† But perhaps our best clue to Lord

* Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 175.

† His admiration of Bolingbroke's style in his political works I have already had occasion to mention (vol. i. p. 39.) We are

Chatham's own mental tasks, more especially in the field of oratory, is afforded by those which he afterwards so successfully enjoined to his favourite son. It may be stated on the authority of the present Lord Stanhope, that Mr. Pitt being asked to what he principally ascribed the two qualities for which his eloquence was most conspicuous—namely, the lucid order of his reasonings, and the ready choice of his words—answered that he believed he owed the former to an early study of logic, and the latter to his father's practice in making him every day after reading over to himself some passage in the classics, translate it aloud and continuously into English prose. CHAP. XXI. 1740.

Nor was Lord Chatham less solicitous as to his own action and manner, which, according to Horace Walpole, was as studied and as successful as Garrick's*: but his care of it extended not only to speeches, but even in society. It is observed by himself, in one of his letters, that "behaviour, "though an external thing, which seems rather to "belong to the body than to the mind, is certainly "founded in considerable virtues;" † and he evidently thought very highly of the effect of both dress and address upon mankind. He was never seen on business without a full dress coat, and a tie

told that he had read some of Barrow's Sermons so often as to know them by heart. (Thackeray's Life, vol. ii. p. 399.)

* Memoirs, vol. i. p. 479. &c.

† To Thomas Pitt, afterwards Lord Camelford, January 24. 1751. Letters published by Lord Grenville.

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wig, nor ever permitted his Under Secretaries of State to be seated in his presence.* His very infirmities were managed to the best advantage; and it has been said of him, that in his hands even his crutch could become a weapon of oratory. This striving for effect had however, in some respects, an unfavourable influence upon his talents, and, as it appears to me, greatly injured all his written compositions. His private letters bear in general a forced and unnatural appearance; the style of homely texture, but here and there pieced with pompous epithets and swelling phrases. Thus also in his oratory his most elaborate speeches were his worst; and that speech which he delivered on the death of Wolfe, and probably intended as a masterpiece, was universally lamented as a failure.

But when, without forethought, or any other preparation than those talents which nature had supplied and education cultivated, Chatham rose—stirred to anger by some sudden subterfuge of corruption or device of tyranny—then was heard an eloquence never surpassed either in ancient or in modern times. It was the highest power of expression ministering to the highest power of thought. Dr. Franklin declares that in the course of his life he had seen sometimes eloquence without wisdom, and often wisdom without eloquence; in Lord Chatham only had he seen both united.† Yet so vivid and

* Seward's Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 362.

† Dr. Franklin to Earl Stanhope, Jan. 23. 1775.—Franklin's Memoirs.

impetuous were his bursts of oratory, that they seemed even beyond his own control; instead of his ruling them, they often ruled him, and flashed forth unbidden, and smiting all before them. As in the oracles of old, it appeared not he that spake, but the Spirit of the Deity within. In one debate, after he had just been apprised of an important secret of state, "I must not speak to-night," he whispered to Lord Shelburne, "for when once "I am up, every thing that is in my mind comes "out." No man could grapple more powerfully with an argument: but he wisely remembered that a taunt is in general of far higher popular effect, nor did he therefore disdain (and in these he stood unrivalled) the keenest personal invectives. His ablest adversaries shrunk before him crouching and silenced. Neither the skilful and polished Murray, nor the bold and reckless Fox, durst encounter the thunderbolts which he knew how to launch against them; and if these failed who else could hope to succeed?

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But that which gave the brightest lustre, not only to the eloquence of Chatham, but to his character, was his loftiness and nobleness of soul. If ever there has lived a man in modern times to whom the praise of a Roman spirit might be truly applied, that man beyond all doubt was William Pitt. He loved power—but only as a patriot should—because he knew and felt his own energies, and felt also that his country needed them—because he saw the public spirit languishing, and the national glory

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declined—because his whole heart was burning to revive the one, and to wreathe fresh laurels round the other. He loved fame—but it was the fame that follows, not the fame that is run after—not the fame that is gained by elbowing and thrusting, and all the little arts that bring forward little men—but the fame that a Minister at length will and must wring from the very people whose prejudices he despises, and whose passions he controls. The ends to which he employed both his power and his fame will best show his object in obtaining them. Bred amidst too frequent examples of corruption; entering public life at a low tone of public morals; standing between the mock-Patriots and the sneerers at patriotism—between Bolingbroke and Walpole—he manifested the most scrupulous disinterestedness, and the most lofty and generous purposes: he shunned the taint himself, and in time removed it from his country. He taught British statesmen to look again for their support to their own force of character, instead of Court cabals or Parliamentary corruption. He told his fellow-citizens, not as agitators tell them, that they were wretched and oppressed, but that they were the first nation in the world—and under his guidance they became so! And moreover, (I quote the words of Colonel Barré, in the House of Commons), "he was pos-
"sessed of the happy talent of transfusing his own
"zeal into the souls of all those who were to have
"a share in carrying his projects into execution;
"and it is a matter well known to many officers

" now in the House, that no man ever entered the CHAP. XXI.
" Earl's closet who did not feel himself, if possible, 1740.
" braver at his return than when he went in."* Thus he stamped his own greatness on every mind that came in contact with it, and always successfully appealed to the higher and better parts of human nature. And though his influence was not exempt from the usual gusts and veerings of popularity—though for some short periods he was misrepresented, and at others forgotten—though Wilkes might conclude a libel against him with the words, "He is said to be still living at Hayes in Kent;" yet, during the greater part of his career, the nation looked up to its "Great Commoner," (for so they termed him,) as to their best and truest friend, and when he was promoted to an Earldom they still felt that his elevation over them, was like that of Rochester Castle over his own shores of Chatham—raised above them only for their own protection and defence!

Such was the great genius, that in office smote at once both branches of the House of Bourbon, and armed his countrymen to conquest in every clime; while at home (a still harder task!) he dissolved the old enmities of party prejudices, quenched the last lingering sparks of Jacobitism, and united Whigs and Tories in an emulous support of his administration. The two parties thus intermingled and assuaged at the death of George the Second, ere long burst forth again, but soon with a counter-change of

* Speech of Colonel Barré, May 13. 1778. Parl. Hist. vol. xix.

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names, so that the Whigs now stand on the old footing of the Tories, and the Tories on that of the Whigs. Were any further proof required of a fact which I have elsewhere fully, and I believe, clearly unfolded, I could find it in the instance of Lord Chatham and of Mr. Pitt. It has never been pretended that the son entered public life with a different party, or on other principles than his father. Yet Lord Chatham was called a Whig, and Mr. Pitt a Tory.

I am far, however, from maintaining that Chatham's views were always wise, or his actions always praiseworthy. In several transactions of his life, I look in vain for a steady and consistent compass of his course, and the horizon is too often clouded over with party spirit or personal resentments. But his principal defect, as I conceive, was a certain impracticability and waywardness of temper, that on some occasions overmastered his judgment and hurried him along. To give one instance of it: when, not in the hey-day of youth, not in the exasperations of office—but so late as 1772, and in the midst of his honoured retirement, he was replying to the speech of a Prelate, and to the opinion of a College of Divinity, he could so far fall in with the worst rants of the Dissenters, as to exclaim that "there is another College of much "greater antiquity as well as veracity, which I am "surprised I have never heard so much as men-"tioned by any of his Lordship's fraternity, and "that is the College of the poor, humble, despised "fishermen, who pressed hard upon no man's con-

"science, yet supported the doctrines of Christ- CHAP.
"janity both by their lives and conversations. . . . XXI.
"But, my Lords, I may probably affront your rank 1740.
"and learning by applying to such simple anti-
"quated authorities, for I must confess that there
"is a wide difference between the Bishops of those
"and the present times!"* Yet who was the Prelate against whom these sneers were aimed? Was it any Bishop of narrow views, of sordid and of selfish mind? No, it was the irreproachable, the mild, the good, the warm-hearted and the open-handed Bishop Barrington!

Yet, as I think, these frailties of temper should in justice be mainly ascribed to his broken health, and to the consequence of broken health—his secluded habits. When in society, Lord Chesterfield assures us, that he was "a most agreeable and "lively companion, and had such a versatility of "wit, that he could adapt it to all sorts of conver-"sations." But to such exertion his health and spirits were seldom equal, and he, therefore, usually confined himself to the intercourse of his family, by whom he was most tenderly beloved, and of a few obsequious friends, who put him under no constraint, who assented to every word he spoke, and never presumed to have an opinion of their own. Such seclusion is the worst of any in its effects upon the temper; but seclusion of all kinds is probably far less favourable to virtue than it is

* Thackeray's Life, vol. ii. p. 247.

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commonly believed. When Whitefield questioned Conrade Mathew, who had been a hermit for forty years amidst the forests of America, as to his inward trials and temptations, the old man quaintly but impressively replied: "Be assured, that a sin-"gle tree which stands alone is more exposed to "storms than one that grows among the rest!"*

I have lingered too long, perhaps, on the character of Chatham; yet, what part of an historian's duty is more advantageous to his readers, or more delightful to himself, than to pourtray the departed great—to hold forth their eminent qualities to imitation, yet not shrink from declaring their defects? And in spite of such defects, I must maintain that there are some incidents in Chatham's life, not to be surpassed in either ancient or modern story. Was it not he who devised that lofty and generous scheme for removing the disaffection of the Highlanders, by enlisting them in regiments for the service of the Crown? Those minds which Culloden could not subdue, at once yielded to his confidence: by trusting, he reclaimed them; by putting arms into their hands, he converted mutinous subjects into loyal soldiers! Let Rome or Sparta, if they can, boast a nobler thought!

But the most splendid passage in Lord Chatham's public life was certainly the closing one: when, on the 7th of April 1778, wasted by his dire disease, but impelled by an overruling sense of duty, he

* See Whitefield's Journal, Nov. 27. 1739.

repaired for the last time to the House of Lords, tottering from weakness, and supported on one side by his son-in-law Lord Mahon, on the other by his second son William, ere long to become like himself the saviour of his country. Of such a scene even the slightest details have interest, and happily they are recorded in the words of an eye-witness. Lord Chatham, we are told, was dressed in black velvet, but swathed up to the knees in flannel. From within his large wig little more was to be seen than his aquiline nose and his penetrating eye. He looked, as he was, a dying man; "yet never," adds the narrator, "was seen a figure of more dig-"nity; he appeared like a being of a superior "species." He rose from his seat with slowness and difficulty, leaning on his crutches and supported by his two relations. He took his hand from his crutch and raised it, lifting his eyes towards Heaven and said, "I thank God that I have been "enabled to come here this day—to perform my "duty and to speak on a subject which has so "deeply impressed my mind. I am old and in-"firm—have one foot, more than one foot in, the "grave—I am risen from my bed to stand up in "the cause of my country—perhaps never again to "speak in this House." The reverence, the attention, the stillness of the House were here most affecting; had any one dropped a handkerchief the noise would have been heard. At first he spoke in the low and feeble tone of sickness, but as he grew warm, his voice rose in peals as high and harmo-

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nious as ever. He gave the whole history of the American war, detailing the measures to which he had objected, and the evil consequences which he had foretold, adding at the close of each period, "and so it proved." He then expressed his indignation at the idea, which he heard had gone forth, of yielding up the sovereignty of America: he called for vigorous and prompt exertion; he rejoiced that he was still alive to lift up his voice against the first dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy. After him, the Duke of Richmond attempted some explanations and defence on the part of the Government. Lord Chatham heard him with attention, and when His Grace had concluded, eagerly rose to reply; but this last exertion overcame him, and after repeated attempts to stand firm, he suddenly pressed his hand to his heart and fell back in convulsions. The Duke of Cumberland, Lord Temple, and other Peers caught him in their arms, and bore him to a neighbouring apartment, while the Lords, left in the House, immediately adjourned in the utmost confusion and concern. He was removed to Hayes, and lingered till the 11th of May, when the mighty spirit was finally released from its shattered frame.*—Who that reads of this soul stirring scene—who that has seen it pourtrayed by that painter, whose son has since raised himself by his genius to be a principal light and ornament of the same assembly—who

* See Seward's Anecdotes, vol. ii. (Art. Lord Chatham) and Thackeray's Life, vol. ii. p. 376-381.

does not feel, that were the choice before him, he would rather live that one triumphant hour of pain and suffering than through the longest career of thriving and successful selfishness? CHAP. XXI. 1740.

My theme has borne me onwards, far beyond the period I had chosen, or the length I had designed; but let me now return to 1740.—Against the rising talents of Pitt, against the practised skill of the other Opposition chiefs, especially Pulteney, Barnard, and Polwarth, what had Walpole to oppose?—himself alone. His extreme jealousy of power had driven from his counsels any other member of the House of Commons, who could, even in the remotest degree, enter into competition with him. His colleagues and supporters were, therefore, only of two classes; in the first place, men of respectable character and plodding industry, but no aspiring abilities, such as Henry Pelham; secondly, men of superior talents, but for some cause or other, not clear in reputation, and looked upon as political adventurers. Of this class was Sir William Yonge, a man whose fluency and readiness of speech amounted to a fault, and were often urged as a reproach, and of whom Sir Robert himself always said, that nothing but Yonge's character could keep down his parts, and nothing but his parts support his character.* Of this class also were Mr. Winnington, and in the other House, Lord Hervey.

* Horace Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 20. The old Duchess of Marlborough observes, with her usual coarse shrewdness, "If it were possible to have all done that I wish, nobody should

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Amongst the Peers, it is true that the Duke of Newcastle was ready, and Lord Hardwicke most able, in debate; but these, as I have already shown, were by no means cordially joined with Walpole upon the Spanish question. Indeed, in precise proportion as the Minister's unpopularity increased, Newcastle grew less and less friendly in his sentiments, or submissive in his tone. Numerous bickerings and altercations now arose between them, Lord Godolphin having announced his intention to resign the Privy Seal, it was the intention of Walpole to appoint Lord Hervey in his place; this, however, was warmly resisted by Newcastle, who declares in one of his letters: "Sir Robert Walpole and "Pulteney are not more opposite in the House of "Commons, than Lord Hervey and I are with "regard to our mutual inclinations to each other "in our House."* Notwithstanding his murmurs, and even a threat of resignation (which Walpole well knew that Newcastle, under any circumstances, could never find it in his heart to fulfill,) Sir Robert persevered, and the appointment of Lord Hervey took place in April 1740. Another time, in conversation, the Duke, wishing to reflect upon Walpole as sole Minister, muttered that "not to

"go unrewarded that deserves . . . But Sir Robert seems quite "of another opinion, and never likes any but fools, and such as "have lost all credit." To the Earl of Marchmont, August 29. 1740. Marchmont Papers, vol. ii. p. 233.

* To Lord Hardwicke, October 14. 1739. Hardwicke Papers, and Coxe's Copies.

"have the liberty of giving one's opinion before "measures are agreed upon, is very wrong." "What do you mean?" Walpole angrily replied, "The war is your's—you have had the conduct of "it—I wish you joy of it!"* On another occasion again, the expeditions to America being discussed in Council, and it being proposed by Newcastle to send another ship of 60 guns (the Salisbury), the Prime Minister objected, and cried with much asperity, "What, may not one poor ship be left at "home? Must every accident be risked for the "West Indies, and no consideration paid to this "country?" Newcastle recapitulated his reasons, but Walpole replied with still more heat, "I oppose "nothing; I give into every thing; am said to do "every thing; am to answer for every thing, and "yet, God knows, I dare not do what I think "right. I am of opinion for having more ships of "the squadron left behind; but I dare not, I will "not make any alteration. Let them go! Let "them go!"† These petty altercations, each carefully detailed by Newcastle to his "dearest friend" Lord Hardwicke, strongly manifest the declining ascendency of Walpole, and prove that his Cabinet was threatened with internal dissolution, not less than by outward pressure.

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The health and high spirits of Walpole began to fail before this array of difficulties. His son Horace writes to a friend in 1741, "He who always was

* Duke of Newcastle to Lord Hardwicke, October 25. 1740.

† Ibid. October 1. 1740.

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"asleep as soon as his head touched the pillow, "now never dozes above an hour without waking; "and he, who at dinner always forgot he was "Minister, and was more gay and thoughtless than "all his company, now sits without speaking, and "with his eyes fixed for an hour together. Judge "if this is the Sir Robert you knew!"* Yet in public life his energy and courage were wholly unabated, and he thought only of schemes to recover his lost ground. The expeditions to America, if crowned with success, might, he hoped, go far to retrieve his popularity. Another scheme more extraordinary, and at the moment unsuspected, was to prevail upon the King to consent to a Bill, that at his death the Electorate of Hanover might be dissevered from the Crown of England. This project is recorded by the unimpeachable authority of Speaker Onslow. "A little before Sir Robert "Walpole's fall, and as a popular act to save him- "self, he took me one day aside and said, 'What "'will you say, Speaker, if this hand of mine shall "'bring a Message from the King to the House of "'Commons, declaring his consent to having any "'of his family after his own death, made by Act "'of Parliament incapable of inheriting and en- "'joying the Crown and the Electoral dominions "'at the same time?' My answer was, 'Sir, it will "'be as a Message from Heaven.' He replied, "'It will be done.'"† By this project Walpole un-

* To Sir Horace Mann, October 19. 1741.

† Speaker Onslow's Remarks, Coxe's Walpole, vol. ii. p. 571.

doubtedly expected to gratify, not only the people's distaste to Hanover, but also the King's aversion to the Prince of Wales. Yet, whether the difficulties at Court proved greater than he had foreseen, or whether he was diverted by other and more pressing affairs, it does not appear that any further progress was made in the design. CHAP. XXI. 1740.

But the most surprising measure to which Walpole was driven by his difficulties, was an application to the Pretender at Rome, with the view of obtaining the support of the Jacobites in England. It appears that in the summer of 1739, Thomas Carte the historian, being then about to undertake a journey to Rome, was entrusted with a message from Walpole to the Pretender, declaring his secret attachment, and promising his zealous services, but desiring to have some assurances of James's intentions as to the Church of England, and as to the Princes of the House of Hanover. In reply James wrote and put into the hands of Carte a very judicious letter, in which he expresses great doubts as to the sincerity of Walpole's good wishes, but promises that if they shall be real and effective, they shall be duly rewarded at his restoration. "I "have no difficulty," he adds, "in putting it in your "power to satisfy him authentically on the two arti- "cles about which he is solicitous, since, independent "of his desires, I am fully resolved to protect and "secure the Church of England, according to my "reiterated promises.....As for the Princes of the

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"House of Hanover, I thank God I have no resentment against them, nor against any one living. "I shall never repine at their living happily in their "own country after I am in possession of my "kingdoms; and should they fall into my power, "upon any attempt for my restoration, I shall "certainly not touch a hair of their heads.*" This letter was delivered to Walpole by Carte on his return, and it is still to be found amongst Sir Robert's papers, endorsed with his own hand. No one, I presume, will here do Walpole the injustice to suspect him of sincerity. His zeal for the House of Hanover had been proved by most eminent services; and there seems little doubt that his object was only, as Sunderland's had been eighteen years before, to catch the votes of the Jacobites at the next elections. Nay more, it is not improbable that like Sunderland he may have communicated the correspondence to the King. I am only astonished how this wily statesman could expect that after his past career, the Pretender would be satisfied with words, or fail to insist upon deeds.

We find, also, that Walpole in like manner tried his skill with Colonel Cecil, who since the death of Lord Orrery, in August 1737, had become one of the principal Jacobite agents; and that, by profess-

* James to Mr. T. Carte, July 10. 1739. See Appendix. Mr Coxe had a copy of this letter, and of the endorsement, amongst his MSS., and ought not, I think, to have suppressed all mention of it in his Life of Walpole.

ing his devotion to the same principles, he often drew from Cecil several important secrets.* Even in the beginning of 1741, we may observe Carte, in a letter to the Pretender, still expressing some hope of Sir Robert's good intentions.† CHAP. XXI. 1740.

Of all the reasons to be alleged in justification of Sir Robert Walpole's pacific policy, there is none perhaps of greater weight than the new life and spirit which the Pretender and his party derived from the war. For several years had they been dwindling into insignificance; their hopes and projects, though sufficiently numerous, never followed by results nor claiming the notice of history. But as soon as foreign states became hostile to England, and had therefore an interest in overthrowing the government, or at least disturbing the tranquillity, of England, from that very moment the Jacobite conspiracy assumed a more regular and settled form, and presented a lowering and formidable aspect. I must now then, again advert to the machinations of the exiled Prince, his adherents and allies; and trace the progress of that smouldering flame which ere long burst forth in another civil war.

James was still residing at Rome. In 1735 his consort, the titular Queen Clementina, had died of asthma‡, and this event, though they had lived

* Dr. King's Anecdotes, p. 37.

† Letter from Mr. Carte to James (received April 17. 1741). See Appendix.

‡ Boyer's Polit. State, vol. xlix. p. 258. A splendid monu-

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far from happily together, seems to have greatly increased his usual dejection both of mind and manner. An interesting account of his appearance and habits in 1740, may be drawn from the lively letters of President des Brosses; letters which formerly appeared in a mutilated shape, but of late have been published correctly: "The King "of England is treated here with as much re- "spect as though he were a real reigning Sove- "reign. He lives in the Piazza di Sant' Apostoli, "in a large palace not remarkable for beauty.* "The Pope's soldiers mount guard there as at "Monte Cavallo, and accompany him whenever he "goes out, which does not happen often. It is easy "to know him for a Stuart; he has quite the air of "that family; tall and thin, and in his face very "like the portraits we have in France of his father "James the Second. He is also very like Marshal "Berwick, his illegitimate brother, except that the "Marshal's countenance was sad and severe, while "that of the Pretender is sad and silly. His dig- "nity of manners is remarkable. I never saw any "Prince hold a great assembly, so gracefully and "so nobly. Yet, his life, in general, is very retired, "and he only comes for an hour to take part in the

ment was raised to her memory by Pope Benedict XIV., and a medal struck on the occasion. See Stuart Medals, No. 55., in Sir Henry Ellis's Catalogue.

* This was the Palazzo Muti. James died there in 1766. See Melchiorri, Guida di Roma, part ii. p. 566.

" festivals which he gives from time to time, through " his sons, to the ladies of Rome. His devotion is " excessive; he passes his whole morning in prayers " at the Church of the Holy Apostles, near the " tomb of his wife. Of his talents I cannot venture " to speak positively, for want of sufficient infor- " mation; they seem but moderate, yet all his con- " duct is reasonable and befitting his condition. " Although I have often the honour of seeing him, " he appears but for a moment on returning from " church; he then goes into his closet and remains " there till dinner. He speaks little at table, but " with much courtesy and good nature, and with- " draws soon after the meal is concluded. He " never sups at night. His table for dinner is " always equally laid with eleven covers for the " ten persons of his family, who in general dine " with him; but whenever any foreign or Roman " gentlemen wait upon him in the morning, he " most commonly asks them to stay dinner, and " in that case a corresponding number of his " attendants go and dine at another table, so " that at his own the number is always the same. " When he sits down to dinner, his two sons, " before they take their places, go to kneel before " him and ask his blessing. To them he usually " speaks in English, to others in Italian or in " French.

" Of these two sons, the elder is called the Prince " of Wales, the younger the Duke of York. Both " have a family look; but the face of the latter is

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"still that of a handsome child. They are amiable "and graceful in their manners; both showing but "a moderate understanding, and less cultivated "than Princes should have at their age. They are "both passionately fond of music, and understand "it well; the eldest plays the violoncello with much "skill; the youngest sings Italian airs in very "good taste: once a week they give an excel-"lent concert, which is the best music at Rome. "The English, who always swarm in this city, are "most eager to have an opportunity of seeing these "Princes. The youngest, especially, is much liked "in the town, on account of his handsome face and "pretty manners. Yet I hear from those who "know them both thoroughly, that the eldest has "far higher worth, and is much more beloved by his "friends; that he has a kind heart and a high "courage; that he feels warmly for his family mis-"fortunes; and that if some day he does not retrieve "them, it will not be for want of intrepidity. They "tell me, that having been taken, when quite a "stripling, to the siege of Gaeta by the Spaniards, "one day during the voyage his hat blew off into "the sea. The people round him wished to re-"cover it. 'No,' cried he, 'do not take that "'trouble; I will some day go the same way my "'hat has gone, if things remain as they are.'"*

* The title of this work is *l'Italie il y a Cent Ans*, and the passage I have translated is taken from vol. ii. p. 93—100. ed. 1836. I have found this work, in other parts, both acute and impartial.

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The chief Minister of James, and by far the ablest man at his little Court, was James Murray, the titular Earl of Dunbar; his unworthy brother-in-law, Lord Inverness, had died this very year at Avignon. Soon afterwards one Mr. Edgar, who is mentioned in 1728, in some letters from Italy*, having become James's private Secretary, also obtained considerable influence over him. As to hopes of foreign succour, the Duke of Ormond and the Earl Marischal had hastened to Madrid upon the rupture with England, but did not find or make any very favourable opening in that quarter. "Nothing" writes the Earl, "has been "intended here against the English Government, "which they know was forced into the war, and "which they count on as ready to forward peace "as soon as they dare."† But in France, the Jacobite prospects were of brighter hue. When Cardinal Fleury perceived that France must probably follow Spain in a breach with England, he began to lend a ready ear to the malcontents and

* See Atterbury's Correspondence, vol. i. p. 206.

† Earl Marischal to James, June 21. 1740. Stuart Papers, Appendix. Among other points in this letter it is interesting to observe the Lord Marischal's love of Plutarch, which afterwards became one of the ties of his intimate friendship with Rousseau. Rousseau himself says of Plutarch, not long before his death, "Dans le petit nombre de livres que je lis quelquefois encore, "Plutarque est celui qui m'attache et me profite le plus. Ce "fut la première lecture de mon enfance, ce sera la dernière de "ma vieillesse." (Quatrième Rêverie, Œuvres vol. iii. p. 272. ed. 1822.)

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exiles, and entered into their designs, with secrecy indeed and caution, but still considerable warmth. In the first place, however, he paused to ascertain what the Jacobites could effect for themselves at home, declaring that if they would fulfil their assurances, he would be no niggard of his aid.

The Jacobite party in Britain, so long as peace continued, was well described by Bolingbroke as "an unorganized lump of inert matter, without a "principle of life or action in it, capable of mobi-"lity, perhaps, but more capable of divisibility, and "utterly void of all power of spontaneous motion.*" But war was the Promethean spark that kindled the sluggish mass. In Scotland an association in favour of the exiled family, undertaking to risk life and fortune, whenever a body of foreign troops should land as auxiliaries, was signed in 1740 by seven principal persons, namely, the Earl of Traquair, a Roman Catholic nobleman; his brother Mr. John Stuart; the titular Duke of Perth; his uncle Lord John Drummond; Sir James Campbell, of Auchinbreck; Lord Lovat; and young Lochiel. The name of Lovat may excite some surprise in those who remember his activity against the insurgents of 1715†; but this crafty and selfish old man had been offended at some attempts of the Government to introduce law and order in the Highlands: he thought also his former service ill

* To Sir William Wyndham, January 25. 1740.

† See vol. i. p. 268., and Appendix, p. 47.

rewarded, and declared that he had not received enough—a word which, with him, always meant a little more than he had! What then were his feelings, when in 1739, having excited the suspicions of the Government, he was stripped of the place and pension which he already enjoyed! Incensed, but with caution mastering even his most violent resentments, he plunged, eager, yet still dissembling, into the Jacobite designs.

The mind of Donald Cameron, young Lochiel, was cast in a far different mould: full of courage, hospitality and honour; a true model of that chivalrous character which poets have feigned, oftener than found, in feudal chiefs. For the cause of the Stuarts had the father fought and bled, and was now living attainted and in exile; for that cause, even when buoyed up by no visions of victory, the son was as ready to devote the last drop of his blood, the last acre of his lands. An erring principle, but surely a most noble fidelity! His energy in war, his courtesy and charity in peace, are recorded even by his political (he could have no private) enemies. One of these, a courtly poet, unable to comprehend either how so excellent a man should be shut out from Paradise, or how any person of Jacobite principles could possibly enter in, ingeniously solves the difficulty by presuming that Lochiel will become "a Whig in Heaven."* Nowhere, I think, do our annals display a more

* Scots' Magazine, 1748.

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striking contrast than this between Lovat and Lochiel. The one, hoary with age, and standing on the very brink of the grave, yet trembling with eagerness for none but worldly and evanescent objects; willing to sacrifice honour, conscience, country, nay, even, as we shall find hereafter, his own son, victims at the shrine of his unprincipled ambition! The other in the prime of manhood, with aims as pernicious for the public, but in him most pure and lofty; swayed not by places or pensions, by coronets and ribands, but by his own inward and impelling sense of right: faithful to James, only because he believed, however erroneously, that James was his rightful King—only because he felt that his duty and devotion to the King were a part of his duty and devotion to the Almighty King of Kings!

Having formed their plot, the seven leaders next determined to impart it to their Prince, through a confidential agent, and for this purpose they pitched upon Mac Gregor, otherwise called Drummond, of Bohaldie. He was directed, on his return from Rome, to make some stay at Paris, and was entrusted with a memorial to Cardinal Fleury, giving an account of the design, and containing a list of the Highland Chiefs well affected to the Stuart cause, such as Sir Alexander Macdonald and Mac Leod. To Rome accordingly Bohaldie repaired, and afterwards to Paris, where he was favourably received by the Cardinal, and where he urged his negotiation, conjointly with one Sempill,

calling himself Lord Sempill, at this time James's principal manager at the Court of Versailles. CHAP. XXI. 1740.

With respect to England, Colonel Brett was, early in 1740, despatched from Paris to confer with the Jacobite leaders in that country. Amongst the foremost of these appears to have been the Duke of Beaufort; a young man of delicate health and retired habits, who indeed survived only till the spring of 1745—but his brother, and afterwards his heir, Lord Noel Somerset, directed the powerful influence of that family in the Western counties. Sir Watkin Wynn answered for North Wales; in London, Lord Barrymore and Colonel Cecil, at Oxford, Dr. William King, Principal of St. Mary's Hall, were stirring agents. But, perhaps, the most active of the party was Sir John Hinde Cotton, member for the county of Cambridge, a gentleman of old family and large estate: he had sat in Parliament ever since the time of Queen Anne, was not undistinguished as a speaker, and so zealous a Jacobite that he used to make an annual progress throughout England, to maintain the spirit of his friends.* On the 28th of March, Lord Sempill writes, that Colonel Brett has returned from England, and reports "Shippen timid; Sir John Hinde "Cotton doubtful of others, but answers clearly "for himself; Sir Watkin Wynn hearty, and may "certainly be depended on."†

* See Coxe's Life of Lord Walpole, p. 276.

† Letter of Lord Sempill, March 28. 1740. Stuart Papers. The Right Hon. C. W. Wynn has kindly communicated to me

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In little more than two months after Colonel Brett's return, Lord Barrymore undertook a Jacobite mission from London to Paris, and was admitted, together with Lord Sempill, to an audience of Cardinal Fleury. The Minister gave them a gracious reception, listened with pleasure to their account of affairs at home, and promised to send a friend of his own to England, in order to obtain still fuller and more authentic information for his Court.* In a few days more we find Lord Barrymore about to return, and the Marquis de Clermont, the person selected by the Cardinal for the secret English mission. It also appears that Sir John Hinde Cotton was to remain in London throughout the summer, as the channel of communication with James's friends, and that Shippen, whom the public voice still proclaimed as the great leader of the Jacobites, was thought by them so weak as to be left out of all their consultations.† Shippen, at this time, was sixty-eight, and his energy, perhaps, much impaired. But as it seems to me, even his earlier reputation grew much more from his courage, his incorruptibility, his good humoured frankness of purpose, than from any superior eloquence or talent. Horace Walpole, the younger, describes his speeches as spirited in sentiment, but generally

this, and the following extracts or summaries, which he made at Carlton House from Sempill's Letters of 1740. I could find none of these in their place at Windsor.

* Letter of Lord Sempill, June 6. 1740. Stuart Papers.

† Letter of Lord Sempill, June 13. 1740. Stuart Papers.

uttered in a low tone of voice, with too great rapidity and with his glove held before his mouth*—certainly not the portrait of a great orator! It is said that he had some skill in poetry, yet, it does not seem that he was known or prized by any eminent men without the House of Commons. His father was rector of Stockport, and his paternal inheritance had been small; he acquired, however, an ample fortune by marriage. His wife was extremely penurious, and as a relation gently expressed it, "with a peculiarity in temper†," and unwilling to mix in society; she was much noticed by Queen Caroline, but steadily declined all connection with the Court. Shippen, himself, like Pulteney, was not free from the odious taint of avarice; when not attending Parliament, he lived chiefly in a hired house on Richmond Hill; and it is remarkable that neither of these distinguished politicians, though each wealthy, possessed that chief pride and delight of an English gentleman—a country seat.‡

In September, this year, it appears that the Marquis de Clermont had returned from his secret mission, and that his reports were favourable to the

* Communicated to Archdeacon Coxe. Memoirs of Walpole, vol. i. p. 672.

† From her grand-nephew, Judge Willes. Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 673. Shippen survived her several years in full possession of her fortune.

‡ This fact, as regards Shippen, is stated in Coxe's Walpole, *ut supra*. As regards Pulteney, I find it in a letter from Pope to Swift, of May 17. 1739. (Swift's Works, vol. xix. p. 291.)

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Jacobite designs*; and in December, after the Emperor's death had given new ground and probability of war, Cardinal Fleury was so far wrought upon as to promise positively, that if Bohaldie could bring full assurances from those who managed the Clans, the Irish brigade in France should be forthwith transported to Scotland, with the arms and ammunition required. In that case he also undertook to use endeavours with the Government of Spain, to send another body of troops from thence, with the Earl Marischal.† Such a project was indeed already entertained by the Spanish, or at least apprehended by the British, Court.‡

Even from this outline it will be perceived how unwearied, how extensive, and how formidable was the Jacobite conspiracy. Yet, at that moment, and for years before, the existence of any such conspiracy was stubbornly denied by the "Patriots," in Opposition; they maintaining that it was a mere chimera and device of ministers to justify military preparations, a standing army, and the final establishment

* Letter of Lord Sempill, Sept. 5. 1740. Stuart Papers.

† Letter of Lord Sempill, December 19. 1740. Stuart Papers.

‡ "The troops in Gallicia publicly declared they were to be "employed under the Duke of Ormond, who was then in Spain, "in a descent upon England." (Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 459.) Sir John Norris was sent out with a squadron to defeat this design, and the Duke of Cumberland sailed with him as a volunteer: however, the Spaniards found ample employment for their force in South America.

of despotic power. Daniel Pulteney — a brother of William, of the same principles, and prevented only by his early death from attaining similar political distinction—used to say that the Pretender would never subdue us, but his name would!* These mock-patriots, so jealous, as they seemed, of British liberties, were undoubtedly in effect — perhaps sometimes in intention—the best allies and patrons of the Jacobites. CHAP. XXI. 1740.

For the Jacobites themselves, their course though far more direct and manly, was still less reasonable. Considering the mildness and moderation of the reigning family, we may wonder at their irreconcilable resentment; and our surprise will augment, if we reflect on the feeble and bigot character of the Prince whom they were so eager to enthrone. To place at the head of the Church of England one of its most bitter and unchanging adversaries — such was the aim of men who believed or boasted themselves the best, nay, the only real friends of that Church! Every successive year, as it increased the difficulty of a Revolution—as it heightened the necessity to wade at this object through torrents of blood, and that blood our fellow-countrymen's—added, as I conceive, to the responsibility and moral guilt of the attempt. And while I revere and wish to do justice to the high motives of many Jacobites, I cannot but strongly condemn the false political idolatry of all.

* Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham, November 18. 1739.

## CHAPTER XXII.

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As the South American Colonies had given the first impulse to the war with Spain, so was it against them that its chief exertions were directed. Their weakness, it was thought, would afford an easy conquest, and their wealth a rich booty. Two squadrons were accordingly equipped; the one under Commodore Anson, to sail round Cape Horn, and rifle the shores of Peru; the other under Admiral Vernon, to attack Porto Bello and the Eastern coast. Each of these expeditions will demand and reward a particular detail.

George Anson, commander of the first, and afterwards Lord Anson, deserves to be held forth as a model to British seamen of what may be accomplished, by industry, by courage, by love of their profession. He was born of a family at that period new and obscure, nor had he the advantage of distinguished talents. After his expedition, it used to be said of him that he had been round the world but never in it; he was dull and unready on land;

slow in business, and sparing of speech. But he had undaunted bravery, steady application, and cool judgment; he punctually followed his instructions, and zealously discharged his duty; and by these qualities—qualities within the attainment of all—did he rise to well-earned honours and bequeath an unsullied renown.* CHAP. XXII. 1740.

It is from Lord Anson's papers, but by the pen of Mr. Walter, his Chaplain, that an accurate and interesting narrative of the expedition has been transmitted to posterity. The ships assigned for this service were the Centurion of 60 guns and 400 men, the Gloucester and Severn, each of 50 guns and 300 men, the Pearl of 40 guns, the Wager of 28, and the Trial sloop of 8. Great difficulty and delay, however, took place in the manning of this squadron, for want of the fuller powers, which Walpole had in vain solicited from the House of Commons. Thus far, therefore, no blame can attach to the Minister; but on another point within his own control, he may be justly charged with want of knowledge or consideration. Instead of embarking a regiment of foot as at first designed, it was declared that 500 out-pensioners of Chelsea should be collected instead of it, though these men were utterly disabled by age or wounds from even a common or less laborious service. The First Lord

* See Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 85. In Rousseau's fiction, Lord Anson expands to "un capitaine, un soldat, un "pilote, un sage, un grand homme!" (Nouvelle Héloise, partie iv. lettre 3.)

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of the Admiralty, Sir Charles Wager, concurred in the representations made by Anson on this subject; but the opinion of both was overruled, as it seems, by the Prime Minister.* But further still, when the poor invalids came on board they were found to be only 259 instead of 500, for all those who had limbs and strength to walk out of Portsmouth had deserted! "Indeed," says an eye-witness, "it is difficult to conceive a more moving scene "than the embarkation of these unhappy veterans! "They were themselves extremely adverse to the "service they were engaged in, and fully apprised "of all the disasters they were afterwards exposed "to; the apprehensions of which were strongly "marked by the concern that appeared in their "countenances, which was mixed with no small "degree of indignation, to be thus hurried from "their repose into a fatiguing employ, to which "neither the strength of their bodies, nor the "vigour of their minds, were anyways propor-"tioned, and when, without seeing the face of "an enemy, or in the least promoting the success "of the enterprise they were engaged in, they "would, in all probability, uselessly perish by lin-"gering and painful diseases; and this too, after "they had spent the activity and strength of their "youth in their country's service."

From this first deficiency, from contradictory orders, and from various other circumstances of

* Walter's Narrative of Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 9. ed. 1748. 8vo.

mismanagement, above half a year had been wasted, and it was not till the 18th of September 1740, that the squadron weighed anchor from St. Helen's. They touched at Madeira, refreshed themselves at St. Catherine's on the coast of Brazil, and in March 1741 safely crossed the streights of Le Maire. "As "these streights," observes the Chaplain, "are "often considered as the boundary between the "Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, we could not help "flattering ourselves that the greatest difficulties "of our passage were now at an end, and hence "we indulged our imaginations in those romantic "schemes, which the fancied possession of the "Chilian gold and Peruvian silver might be con-"ceived to inspire. These joyous ideas were "heightened by the brightness and serenity of the "sky. . . . . Thus we traversed these memorable "streights, ignorant of the dreadful calamities that "were then impending and just ready to break "upon us; ignorant that the time drew near, when "the squadron would be separated never to unite "again, and that this day of our passage was the "last cheerful day that the greatest part of us "would ever live to enjoy."* It appears that the delays in England had brought them to the most stormy and perilous season for doubling Cape Horn. On leaving Streights Le Maire they were immediately assailed by a tremendous tempest; the sea ran mountain high; and the oldest sailors on board were

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* Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 106.

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forced to confess that what they had hitherto called storms, were mere gentle breezes compared to the violence of these winds. What added to their danger was their inequality, and the deceitful lulls they afforded, suddenly interrupted by such quick and violent motions, that the men were in perpetual peril of being dashed to pieces against the decks or sides of the ships. Thus were several men killed and others greatly injured, one, for example, breaking his thigh, and another his collar bone, twice. Moreover, these blasts generally brought with them a great quantity of snow and sleet, which cased the rigging and froze the sails, thus rendering them and the cordage apt to snap upon the slightest strain, and which also benumbed and disabled many of the people, even to the mortifying of their toes and fingers. The ships also, by labouring in these high seas, had grown loose in their upper works, so that they let in the water at every seam, and scarcely any of the officers ever slept in dry beds.

For many days did the squadron struggle against these dangers and hardships, in the meanwhile striking to the southward, and having then advanced, as they believed, near ten degrees to the westward of Tierra del Fuego, so as to compensate the drift of the eastern current. Thus then on once more steering north, they fully expected, within a few days, to enter a new scene, and experience the proverbial tranquillity of the Pacific Ocean. But the case proved far otherwise. They

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unexpectedly discovered land, which they found to be Cape Noir, a point of Tierra del Fuego; the surprising strength of the currents having thus borne them back to the eastward nearly seven hundred miles more than they had reckoned. Instead therefore of enjoying a summer climate and more tranquil sea, their prows were again turned to the antarctic pole, again to contend with those fearful storms they had so lately encountered; and in this second cruise, they underwent a new calamity, in the total separation of the squadron, which had hitherto been kept together, though with difficulty, by guns fired almost every half hour from the Commodore's ship, the Centurion. It only remained for each vessel to shift for itself, and endeavour to reach the island of Juan Fernandez; which Anson, with prudent forethought, had previously assigned as a point of rendezvous.

The Centurion, now left alone, was beset with renewed hurricanes, especially upon the 22d of May: "at which time," says Mr. Walter, "the fury "of all the storms which we had hitherto encoun-"tered seemed to have combined for our destruc-"tion.*" They escaped these dangers, but had still no cause for self-congratulation, for even when the ship shot along the more quiet waves of the Pacific, it bore within it an active principle of destruction—that sea scourge, the scurvy. In our days, when medical science has done so much to tame and

* Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 148.

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subdue that dreadful disease, we may feel surprise at the violence of its former fury. We read amongst its symptoms on this occasion, of putrid fevers, pleurisies, the jaundice, and extreme rheumatic pains; a difficulty of breathing, ulcers of the worst kind, attended with rotten bones, and yielding to no remedies; a re-opening of the scars of old wounds; nay, strangest of all in British sailors, "a "disposition to be seized with dreadful terrors on "the slightest accidents." We are told that the patients, though confined to their hammocks, sometimes continued to bear the appearance of health; for they eat and drank heartily, were cheerful, and talked in a loud, strong tone of voice; and yet, on their being the least moved, though it was only from one part of the ship to the other, and that in their hammocks, they immediately expired; and that others, who confided in their seeming strength, and attempted to rise, died before they could well reach the deck. If any reader should suspect exaggeration in these details, he will find them mournfully confirmed by the list of deaths. In the first month that the disease appeared the Centurion lost 43 men, in the second month nearly double that number; and before they reached the land above two hundred had died, and so many were ill, that no more than six fore-mast men in a watch could be mustered capable of duty. Ere long too, there was a deficiency of fresh water; and the island which they sought—a small speck in a boundless sea—for some time eluded their research: once,

when seen, it was mistaken for a cloud on the horizon, and passed by. At last, on the 10th of June, they approached and anchored at the much desired port, being then so feeble and exhausted that a few days longer at sea would probably have destroyed them altogether. CHAP. XXII. 1740.

The island of Juan Fernandez (so called from a Spaniard who had formerly obtained a grant of it) was then uninhabited, though abounding in all the gifts of nature that could tempt the residence of man. Aromatic woods clothe its sides, crystal springs gush from its valleys; it produces many kinds of excellent herbs, and the sea around it teems with the greatest variety of fish. In extent it is about five leagues long and two broad. It had once been dwelt in by Alexander Selkirk, a Scottish sailor who had been left behind by his ship, and lived alone, until taken up by another some years afterwards. This real Crusoe had published a most curious account of his hermit's life; and the accuracy of his statements was verified by a little incident that afforded great pleasure—as a countryman's token in a far distant and solitary land—to the Centurion's crew. He says that as he often caught more goats than he wanted, he sometimes marked their ears and let them go; this being about thirty-two years before the Centurion arrived at the island. Now it so happened, that the very first goat killed by the sailors,—a patriarch of "an exceeding ma-"jestic beard, and most venerable aspect," had his ears slit, from whence they rightly concluded that

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he must have been one of the hermit's little flock. These goats were indeed no small resource to the hungry seamen; they also eat seal flesh, which they did not relish at first, but afterwards calling it lamb among themselves — such is the power of names upon the multitude! — thought it very palatable.* Of still more service were the wild herbs to the sick, who were carried to land and placed under tents; yet the healthy were so few that though the officers worked alike with the men, it was with the utmost difficulty that this removal was effected. Above a dozen died in the boats on being exposed to the fresh air. Now however, the disease rapidly abated, and a few weeks sufficed to restore the survivors to their wonted strength and vigour.

But where was the rest of the squadron? A few days after the Centurion, arrived the Trial Sloop: it had been in like manner afflicted with the scurvy, and so severely, that at last only the Captain, the Lieutenant, and three men were able to stand by the sails. But even these sufferings were light when compared with those of the Gloucester, which came in view shortly afterwards: they had been for some time at the small allowance of one pint of water to each man for twenty-four hours; they had already thrown overboard two thirds of their crew; and of those that remained alive, scarce any were capable of duty, except the

* Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 172.

officers and their servants. The poor Chelsea pensioners were of course among the earliest victims: every one of them had perished.* In fact there was no longer strength sufficient to navigate the ship; and though some of the Centurion's men were sent out to it in boats, it was twice driven off the island by winds or currents, and above a month elapsed before it could be brought to anchor, or the survivors be landed to recover and refresh themselves. CHAP. XXII. 1740.

Some weeks later they were also joined by their victualler, the Anna Pink. Of the remaining ships, the Pearl and Severn had suffered so severely in the storms, that, as afterwards appeared, they had put back to the Brazils and took no further part in the expedition. The fate of the last ship, the Wager, was most disastrous of all: it was wrecked on a small desert island to the southward of Chiloe. The crew (140 in number) were saved from the waves, but instantly exposed to still more dire distress; many of them perishing miserably from want of food. Moreover, the men conceived that by the loss of the ship the authority of the Captain had ended: the Captain on his part, was of no kind or conciliatory temper; and thus mutiny soon came in to embitter the anguish of famine. The sailors at length seizing the long boat, steered away with the view of passing the streights of Magellan; and, nearly impossible as it was deemed, yet after a

* See Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 223. In the Centurion there had survived only four!

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most surprising navigation, some of them, to the number of thirty, did actually reach Rio Grande, in Brazil. But afraid of being tried for mutiny in England, should their Captain ever be present to confront them, they had insisted on leaving him on shore when they began their voyage, and with him the Lieutenant, the Surgeon, and the two Midshipmen. One of these last, the Honourable John Byron, has left a well written narrative of his sufferings and adventures on this occasion: he afterwards rose to the rank of Admiral in the British navy, commanded in the West Indies, and survived till 1798, but is best known as the grandfather of the celebrated poet.* The same frankness, the same energy, the same love of enterprise and of distinction appear both in the sire and the son; but while the spirit of the former was restrained by the rules, and yet quickened by the impulse, of the public service, the latter was assailed by the temptations of early wealth and the opportunities of unlimited indulgence. Thus did that great genius sink into errors and failings which his grandsire never knew; thus, his life if more glorious, was far less long, less happy, less truly honourable. Well and wisely was it said by a true practical philosopher, that next to religion the most important principle in life is to have a pursuit!† Yet

* Lord Byron has made great use of the real incidents of the Wager's shipwreck for that in his Don Juan, as, indeed, is observed by himself, (canto 2. stanza 187.)

† Sir Humphry Davy's Salmonia, p. 270.

the contrast of the Byrons may show that a profession, where the duties are fixed and indispensable, is better still than a pursuit which may be taken up or laid aside at pleasure.

The four officers of the Wager left behind (for the fifth had sunk beneath his sufferings) contrived by the assistance of some Indians, after surmounting many perils and enduring extraordinary hardships, to make their way towards the Spanish settlements. The country they passed is described by Byron as most dismal: "a deep swamp, in which "the woods may be rather said to float than grow; "so that except a range of deformed broken rocks "which form the sea coast, the traveller cannot "find sound footing anywhere."* On reaching the island of Chiloe they surrendered themselves to the Spaniards, who treated them at first with much pomp and affectation of military prowess. Thus, on being carried to the town of Castro, "the boats all "lay upon their oars, and there was a great deal "of ceremony used in hailing and asking for the "keys, as if it had been a regular fortification. "After some time we landed, but could see neither "gates nor walls, nor any thing that had the ap"pearance of a garrison. As we walked up a steep "hill into the town, the way was lined with men "who had broom-sticks upon their shoulders "instead of muskets, and a lighted match in their "hands. When we came to the Corregidor's

* Byron's Narrative, p. 96. ed. 1832.

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"house, we found it full of people. He was an "old man, very tall, with a long cloak on, a tie-wig, "and a SPADA of immense length by his side, and "received us in great state and form."* The same evening they were transferred, in the hope as was alleged of their religious conversion, to the Jesuits' College, where they passed eight days, with at least the benefit of regular meals after their long famine. "We used to keep close to our cells till the bell "rang for dinner, when we were conducted into a "hall, where there was one table for the fathers and "another for us. After a very long Latin prayer "we sat down and eat what was put before us, "without a single word passing on either side, and "as soon as we had finished there was another long "prayer, which, however, did not appear so tedi- "ous as the first, and then we retired to our cells "again." These Latin prayers, and a strict search for any valuables they might have left (no doubt with the kind view to detach their minds from worldly things,) were the only steps taken towards the great object of reclaiming them from heresy. On being sent, however, to the mainland of Chili, they experienced much courtesy and generosity from the Spaniards,

* Byron's Narrative, p. 154. On another occasion there was an alarm of an English landing, upon which, says Byron, "the "Governor of Chaco mounted his horse and rode backwards "and forwards, saying that he would give the English a warm "reception, meaning, I suppose, that he would have left them "a good fire in his house; for I am certain he would soon have "been in the woods if he had seen any thing like an English "ship coming in." (p. 173.)

and were allowed to reside at large upon their parole, until the conclusion of a cartel gave them liberty to return to England. CHAP. XXII. 1740.

The tempests which had wrecked the Wager and scattered the other ships were, however, so far serviceable to them that they produced still more effect upon a squadron fitted out from Spain to pursue and attack them. This squadron, commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro, and consisting of five ships of the line with a regiment of infantry on board, had arrived at St. Catherine's only four days after Anson had left it. Beyond Cape Horn they were, like him, buffeted by the winds and waves; two ships perished; and the others, though escaping shipwreck, and exempt from scurvy, suffered most grievously from famine, having, through the negligence of the purveyors, left Spain with very scanty supplies. Such was their distress that rats, when they could be caught on board, were sold for four dollars each; and, on one occasion, the death of a sailor was concealed for some days by his brother, who during that time lay in the same hammock with the corpse, only to receive the dead man's allowance of provisions.* In this miserable plight, Pizarro, so far from pursuing his enemy, was glad to retrace his steps and seek relief in the Rio de la Plata.

At Juan Fernandez meanwhile, Anson continued employed in refreshing his men and refitting his ships. Having taken out the stores and broken up

* Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 31.

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the Anna Pink, he had three vessels left, but found the survivors amount only in all to 335; a number greatly insufficient for the manning the Centurion alone. Nothing daunted, however, his thoughts and those of his men, turned rather to the hope of triumph than to the remembrance of disasters. It was the beginning of September before their preparations were completed. On the 8th they espied a sail to the north-east, which they hoped might prove another of their squadron; but finding it steer away from the island, and concluding it to be a Spaniard, they forthwith sent all hands on board the Centurion, heaved anchor, and gave chase. At night they lost sight of their object, nor could they discern it again the next day, so that giving up the pursuit they prepared to return to Juan Fernandez. Now, however, they were agreeably surprised by the appearance of a ship, different from the one they had at first perceived: upon this they immediately bore down; it was overtaken without difficulty and seized without resistance; and it proved to be the Nuestra Señora del Monte Carmelo, a merchantman bound from Callao to Valparaiso. Her cargo was of sugar and broad cloth, but comprised several chests of wrought silver and dollars, while the news obtained from the prisoners was scarcely less acceptable. Now first were the English informed that Pizarro had been forced back into the Rio de la Plata, with the loss of two of his largest ships; that an embargo had been laid upon all the shipping by the Viceroy of Peru, in the month of

May preceding, from an apprehension that Anson might arrive about that period; but that on the account sent overland by Pizarro of his own distresses, part of which they knew that the English squadron must also have experienced, and on their having no news of it for eight months after it was reported to have sailed from St. Catherine's, they were convinced that it must either have perished or put back, and, therefore, on the earnest application of the merchants, the embargo had been lately taken off. CHAP. XXII. 1740.

With this prize, and with the prospect thus afforded of making more, did Anson steer back to Juan Fernandez. It is remarkable, that when the Spaniards in the Carmelo saw the Trial sloop at anchor, they expressed their astonishment that the Commodore after all his fatigues and hardships should have had the industry, besides refitting his other ships to build this new one; and it was with great difficulty they could be prevailed on to believe that it had come from England with the rest of the squadron, they insisting that it was impossible such a bauble could pass round Cape Horn, while the best ships of Spain were compelled to put back.

Anson now determined, from the information he had received, to separate his ships and employ them in distinct cruises, so as to increase the chance of captures. According to this resolution, the Trial ere long fell in with a Spanish merchant vessel, so large that it had often been manned and fitted out

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by the Viceroy of Peru as a man of war. The Trial, on the contrary, was so small and so low in the water, that the Spaniards were at first superstitiously alarmed at seeing nothing but a cloud of sail without any ship in pursuit of them; however, they soon recovered their spirits, for, altering their course in the night, and shutting up their windows to prevent any of their lights from being seen, they thought themselves secure. But a small device in one of the shutters baffled their precaution; through this the Captain of the Trial perceived a light which he chased, until coming within gunshot he alarmed them with a broad-side and compelled them to surrender. This capture proved of great advantage to the expedition; for, the Trial having become dismasted and leaky, it was judged necessary to scuttle and sink her, transferring her crew and stores to her prize, and commissioning the latter as a new frigate in His Majesty's service. The Centurion was no less fortunate, taking two merchant ships with cargoes of considerable value.

Among the prisoners made in this last capture was one John Williams, an Irish vagrant of indifferent character, calling himself a pedlar, and being probably a thief; he was in rags, and had just been released from the prison of Paita. Yet this man, by a singular turn of fortune, now decided the destiny of the town, which had so lately held him in its dungeons. For it was he who informed the Commodore that a Spanish vessel

having seen the Gloucester, had by this time given the alarm to the whole coast—that an express had been sent to Lima—that the entire English squadron was supposed to be at hand—that the Royal Intendant at Paita, apprehending an attack, was busily employed in removing the King's treasure and his own to an inland town. Anson, perceiving from this news that no further prizes would be found at sea, and allured by the accounts which Williams also gave of the great wealth of Paita, and of its defenceless condition, resolved to land his men and assail that place. He was so near it, that the execution ensued the very night after the design.

The town of Paita is built in a most barren soil, consisting only of sand and slate; the houses are but ground-floors, the walls constructed of split cane and mud, and the roofs thatched with leaves; an architecture, which, however slight, is sufficient for a climate where showers are considered a prodigy; so that we are told some rain falling in 1728 had ruined a great number of buildings, which mouldered away, and, as it were, melted before it. The town itself was open, and had only a small fort for its defence. Such being the weakness of the place, Anson conceived that his boats would be sufficient to attack it, and accordingly he manned them with 58 picked men, and entrusted them to Lieutenant Brett. Had he appeared in sight with his ships, they might, as he apprehended, have given the inhabitants the alarm from a considerable dis-

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tance, and allowed them leisure to remove their most valuable effects. Brett and his boats, on the contrary, approaching in the night, had already entered the mouth of the bay before they were discovered;—then first they heard a cry LOS PERROS INGLESES! "the English dogs are coming;"—then first they saw several lights hurrying to and fro in the fort, and other marks of general commotion. The Spaniards had time to load several of their cannon, and to point them towards the landing place; and the first shot passed close to one of the boats, whistling just over the heads of the crew: the English, however, only plied their oars with redoubled ardour, and had disembarked before the second gun was fired. Having entered one of the streets which protected them from further fire, and formed themselves into a body, they rushed forward with drums beating and loud shouts to the Plaza, or principal square, of which the fort formed one side, and the Governor's house* another. On entering the Plaza the sailors received a volley from the merchants, who owned the treasure then in the town, and who, with a few others, had ranged themselves in a gallery that ran round the

* The word *House* seems more appropriate in these towns than their favourite term of *Palace*. At Castro Mr. Byron observes "The soldiers upon our journey had given us a pom-"pous account of *El Palacio del Rey*, as they styled the Go-"vernor's House, and therefore we expected to see something "very magnificent, but it was nothing better than a huge "thatched barn partitioned off into several rooms." Narrative, p. 159.

Governor's house; but no sooner was their fire returned than they fled in confusion. The English then divided into two parties, the one to attack the fort, which the garrison (only one weak company,) forsook at their approach without resistance; the other to seize the Governor. This dignitary had however already fled, displaying but little of the true Spanish gallantry, in either sense of that word; for he had sprung from bed and escaped half naked without thought or care of his wife, whom he had married but three or four days before, and whom he now left behind him. CHAP. XXII. 1740.

Sixty English sailors were now therefore the undisputed masters of this town. Meanwhile the Commodore, in expectation of the issue, had, after some delay, steered his ship towards the harbour, and had the joy as he approached to see the British colours flying from the flag-staff of the fort. A fresh band of British, all eager for booty, now poured on shore. Neither public nor private property was spared: even the churches were rifled of their plate; and it was a strange spectacle, says an eye-witness, to behold the sailors decked forth in all the finery which the Spaniards had left behind them in their flight, laced and embroidered coats above their own tarred jackets, not forgetting tie or bag-wigs; nay, the latest comers finding no other, in women's gowns and petticoats! During this time the Spaniards were mustering their force from all parts of the country on an adjacent hill: there were amongst the rest about two hundred

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horsemen, seemingly well armed and mounted; nevertheless the English remained in possession of the town two whole days without molestation. The amount of public treasure which they found in wrought silver and coin was upwards of 30,000*l.*; the private plunder, though not exactly ascertained, must also have been considerable. But the chief wealth of Paita lay in stores and merchandize, which the Commodore could neither use nor remove; and these accordingly, before he re-embarked on the third morning, he fired, assisting the conflagration with tar-barrels and other combustibles, and reducing the whole town to a heap of ashes; an act which, as it appears to me, can scarcely be defended in civilized war, and which, striking not so much at the Spanish Government as at unoffending and industrious individuals, has imprinted a deep blot on the glory of Lord Anson's expedition.*

A redeeming feature is, however, to be found, in Anson's treatment of the prisoners made in his prizes at sea, and amounting altogether to nearly ninety persons. Several had been passengers in the ships; amongst them some ladies of rank, and a son of the Vice President of the Council of Chili. All these when first taken were in the utmost alarm,

* The Spaniard, Ulloa, who was on this coast at the same time, observes of the conflagration: "Personne ne pouvait se "figurer qu'un procédé si barbare eut été permis par le Com- "mandant de l'Escadre, et en effet on a su depuis que cette "action lui avait fort déplu." (Voyage d'Amérique, vol. ii. p. 9. ed. 1762.) But this is not confirmed by Anson's own narrative.

having, from the former barbarity of the Buccaneers, imbibed the most terrible idea of the English, and expecting every aggravation of ill usage. It was the constant endeavour of Anson to assuage their apprehensions and deserve their gratitude; his courtesy and indulgence were conspicuous to all. The ladies especially were most carefully protected from insult, allowed to retain their own apartments, and treated with the same attention and respect as before their capture. Nay more, on leaving Paita, the prisoners of both sexes were restored to freedom, being sent on shore, and stationed for present security in the two churches, which by good fortune stood at some distance from the town, and were therefore exempted from its conflagration.* Not a few of these Spaniards afterwards met in Chili the English captives of the Wager. "They all," says Mr. Byron, "spoke in "the highest terms of the kind treatment they had "received, and some of them told us they were so "happy on board the Centurion, that they would "not have been sorry if the Commodore had taken "them with him to England."† CHAP. XXII. 1740.

* Compare in Anson's Voyage, pp. 249. 277, and 284.

† Byron's Narrative, p. 199. Captain Basil Hall informs us that "Lord Anson's proceedings are still traditionally known at "Paita; and it is curious to observe that the kindness with "which that sagacious officer invariably treated his Spanish "prisoners, is at the distance of eighty years, better known and "more dwelt upon by the inhabitants of Paita than the capture "and wanton destruction of the town." (South America, vol. ii. p. 101.) A strong proof of Spanish generosity.

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When Anson set sail from Paita, he directed his little squadron to spread, in order to look out for the Gloucester. Nor was it long before that ship appeared in sight. It had meanwhile made two prizes, one of them a small vessel, the other an open barge. The people on board the last had pretended to be very poor, and to have no other loading but cotton; yet some suspicion was raised, on observing that their dinner by no means tallied with their declaration, for they were found eating pigeon pie in silver dishes; and, on a closer search, it appeared that their jars were only covered over with cotton at top, and held beneath a considerable quantity of dollars and doubloons to the value of 12,000*l*. With this accession, the squadron continued to steer to the northward, which had been its general direction ever since it left Juan Fernandez. The design of the Commodore had been to touch near Panama, and from thence communicate across the isthmus of Darien with Admiral Vernon, who he trusted might be already in possession of Porto Bello, and of the eastern coast. To obtain a reinforcement of men from the other side—to reduce the city of Panama itself—perhaps even to maintain the Isthmus, and there intercept all the treasures of Peru,—were the visions which his hopes suggested and his valour justified. But the report of the prisoners he had taken, had already dispelled these gorgeous dreams, by relating what had befallen Vernon and the British armament at Carthagena; and he therefore limited his views to an

enterprize, far less indeed, yet still, as it seemed, an overmatch for his scanty numbers—to seek out and attack the great Manilla galleon. 1740.

Manilla, one of the most splendid cities ever founded by Europeans out of Europe, and perhaps the richest gem in the regal diadem of Spain, standing on the farthest confines of the immense Pacific, had costly merchandize to offer in exchange for Peruvian ore. The commerce between these two colonies had been guarded by the Council of the Indies with jealous care. Its station was at first assigned to Callao, the port of Lima, but afterwards, in consideration of the trade winds, transferred to Acapulco on the coast of Mexico. This port was allowed to receive one, or at most two, annual ships, which sailed from Manilla about July, and arrived at Acapulco in the December or January following, and after disposing of their effects, began their homeward voyage in March. These galleons (for such they were termed) were of enormous size, as may be judged both by their crew and by their cargo: the former in the largest ship sometimes amounted to no less than twelve hundred men *; the latter seldom fell short in value of three millions of dollars. Of one article only—silk stockings—we are told that the number brought every year from Manilla in this ship was full fifty thousand pair.†

One of the earliest of these annual ships had

* Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 330. † Ibid. p. 327.

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been captured by Sir Thomas Cavendish in 1586, an example which Anson and his men panted to follow. Being however only in the middle of November, they conceived that they should have sufficient time to water the squadron, of which it stood in great need, before the arrival of the galleon; and for this purpose they steered for the island of Quibo, a little beyond the bay of Panama. On leaving the coast of South America, they found the season greatly changed: the giant Cordilleras, which had hitherto afforded a cool and tempered clime, and whose snowy summits might often be discerned many leagues at sea apparently floating in air*—the only clouds in that azure sky—were now left behind, and no shield remained against the close and sultry heat of the tropics. Beyond Quibo also the winds proved unfavourable, and the progress made was so small, that the month of January, 1742, had nearly elapsed before the squadron neared Acapulco.

* "The land, about twelve or thirteen leagues distant, made "exceeding high and uneven, and appeared quite white, what "we saw being doubtless a part of the Cordilleras, which are "always covered with snow." (Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 151.) A later and abler writer says, "It was only when the ship was "at a considerable distance from the shore that the higher "Andes came in sight..... It sometimes even happened that "the lower ranges appeared sunk below the horizon, when the "distant ridges were still distinctly in sight, and more magnificent than ever. ..... We made observations on some which, "though upwards of 130 miles off, were quite distinctly visible. "The pleasure which this constant view of the Andes afforded "is not to be described." (Capt. Hall's South America, vol. i. p. 199.)

The next object being to obtain intelligence, a barge was sent out by the Commodore, and after some days, succeeded in seizing three negro slaves in a canoe. From these it appeared, to Anson's great disappointment, that the galleon had arrived a month before; but his hopes revived, on hearing that it had delivered its cargo, was taking in water and provisions for its return, and was appointed to sail on the 3d of March. During the whole of March, therefore, did Anson remain, with his squadron spread at some distance before Acapulco, so that nothing could pass through undiscovered. Yet still no galleon appeared, and it then became suspected, as was indeed the case, that the barge sent out for news had been seen from shore, and that the Spaniards, taking the alarm, had laid an embargo on the galleon till next year.

Thus a second time baffled of his prize, and finding himself under the necessity of quitting the station to procure fresh supplies of water and provision, Anson proceeded to the harbour of Chequetan, about thirty leagues to the north-west of Acapulco. At that place he resolved, on full deliberation, to destroy the Trial's prize, the Carmelo and the Carmen, and to reinforce the Gloucester with their crews; his whole number of men at this time not exceeding the complement of a fourth rate ship of war. The Spaniards near Chequetan did not attempt to molest the Commodore during this or his other proceedings, nor indeed ever appeared in sight; yet the English could discern the smoke of

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their fires, and thence determine that they were posted in a circular line surrounding them at a distance. One prisoner whom the Spaniards made—the Commodore's French cook—being sent to Mexico, and from thence to Europe, but making his escape at Lisbon, was the first person that brought to England an authentic account of the proceedings of the expedition.

Chequetan was Anson's last station in America. Postponing but not relinquishing his hopes of the galleon, he began his voyage across the wide Pacific—a protracted and to him disastrous navigation. The scurvy broke forth afresh, and raged with great fury amongst his crews. His ships also had become crazy and unsound; in a violent tempest that ensued both of them sprung leaks, and the Gloucester lost the greater part of two masts. When the storm abated, and the two ships could again communicate with each other, the Captain of the Gloucester informed the Commodore that besides being dismasted, his ship had no less than seven feet of water in the hold, although the officers and men had been kept constantly at the pumps for the last twenty-four hours, and that this water covered their casks, so that they could come at neither fresh water nor provisions. A reinforcement of men was, therefore, indispensable; yet this the Centurion, with a leak of its own, and so many sailors sick of the scurvy, was wholly unable to afford. There remained, therefore, no other resource (nor, indeed, was there much time for

deliberation) than to take on board, the Gloucester's crew, and as much of its stores as could be saved, and then suffer the hull to be destroyed. To execute this resolution employed the whole of two days. Yet so enfeebled were the men, that it was with the greatest difficulty that even the Gloucester's prize-money was secured; the prize goods were entirely lost; nor could any more provision be removed than five casks of flour, three of them spoiled by the salt water. Several of the sick expired even with the slight fatigue of being gently hoisted into the Centurion. By this time the Gloucester's hold was nearly full of water; yet, as the carpenters were of opinion that she might still swim some time if the calm should continue, and as it was possible that she might be drifted to an island in possession of the Spaniards, she was set on fire. During the whole night the conflagration did not cease, her guns firing successively as the flames reached them, until early in the morning of the 16th of August she blew up, her fate announced by a large black pillar of smoke which shot high into the air.

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The Centurion, now the single remnant both of the squadron and the prizes, pursued her solitary voyage, the scurvy still gaining ground amongst her men, and several dying each day. It was, therefore, with inexpressible joy that the survivors at length beheld the Ladrones Islands, to which their course was tending, and singled out that of Tinian as their station for repose. Such was then

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their debility that they were full five hours in furling the sails; and all the hands they could muster capable of standing at a gun, and many of these too unfit for duty, were no more than seventy-one, gathered from the united crews which, when they sailed from England, consisted all together of near a thousand men! But Tinian with its herds of wild cattle and its delicious fruits—above all, that rare and especial gift of Nature to these islands—the Bread Tree, ere long restored their exhausted strength. Their rapture at this favourite spot was probably heightened by the force of contrast; they describe it as "not resembling an uninhabited and uncultivated place; but much more with the air of a magnificent plantation, where large lawns and stately woods had been laid out together with great skill, and where the whole had been so artfully combined, and so judiciously adapted to the slopes of the hills and the inequalities of the ground, as to produce a most striking effect, and to do honour to the invention of the contriver."* One of their first objects was now to repair the ship: every seam was caulked and leaded over, and the leak stopped, not, indeed, effectually, but as well as the circumstances would allow. But, meanwhile, the roads in which the Centurion lay at anchor were by no means secure, and ere long exposed her to a new and unexpected peril. A violent equinoctial gale drove her far out to sea,

* Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 412.

while the greater part of the crew, and Anson himself were on shore; there were scarcely hands sufficient to man her, the vessel was unrigged, and thus there seemed but little probability of her weathering the storm, and returning to the island.

What then were the prospects of the sailors on shore? In a deserted island—six hundred leagues from their nearest port, Macao, on the coast of China;—none of them acquainted with that voyage;—not even a compass or a quadrant left amongst them,—with but ninety charges of powder, or less than one to every firelock;—with no means of embarkation but a small Spanish vessel of about fifteen tons, which they had seized on their first arrival, and which could not hold a fourth part of their number:—such a situation might have daunted any ardent spirit, elated by success or quelled by reverses; it scarcely ruffled the usual composure and steadiness of Anson. By concealing from the men his own apprehensions, he succeeded in allaying their's. He assured them that, at the worst, the gale which had driven the Centurion out to sea, and which still continued, would only oblige her to bear away for Macao, and that the single thing needful was to rejoin her at that port. For this purpose he proposed to haul the Spanish bark on shore, to saw it asunder, and to lengthen it twelve feet, which would enlarge it to near forty tons burthen, and enable it to carry them all to China. "Nothing is wanting to this plan," added Anson, "but the united resolution and industry of

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"all; for my own part I will share the labour with "you, and expect no more from any man, than "what I, your Commodore, am ready to submit "to." Confidence like fear is contagious. The sailors recovering by degrees from their first despondency, heartily engaged in the project, and set themselves with cheerfulness to the different tasks allotted them. Many materials were wanting, some tools were to be made; still, however, the work advanced; and one day in searching a chest belonging to the Spanish bark, they espied a small compass, which though little better than the toys usually made for children, to them appeared an invaluable treasure; and some time afterwards, by a similar piece of good fortune, they found on the sea shore a quadrant, which had been thrown overboard amongst other lumber belonging to the dead. Already had they fixed a day to begin their voyage, when happily on the 11th of October, one of the sailors being upon a hill in the middle of the island, descried the Centurion out at sea, and ran down loudly shouting "The Ship! the Ship!" to his comrades at their labour. At these joyful words the Commodore flung down the axe with which he was at work—the first time breaking through the even and unvaried demeanour he had hitherto maintained. The others in a kind of frenzy, tumultuously rushed to the sea shore, eager to feast their eyes with a sight so long desired and scarcely yet believed.

It appeared that the Centurion, though driven a

considerable distance, and exposed to imminent perils, had yet, by good management and excessive labour, been enabled to return to her station. After her arrival, it was determined to make no longer stay in the island than was requisite to complete their stock of water. A prosperous gale soon wafted them to Macao. This was, as now, a Portuguese settlement, and therefore a friendly port to Anson, where he might justly expect to supply his exhausted stores, and repair his leaky ship. Yet, when he waited upon the Governor to make known his wants, the other declared that he durst not furnish him with any of the things required, unless an order were first obtained from the Viceroy of Canton; for that he himself received neither provisions for his garrison, nor other necessaries, but through this permission, and that they were only doled out to him from day to day. A long and wearisome negotiation ensued between the Commodore and the Chinese. It was not till after much solicitation and delay on the part of this jealous people, that two Mandarins were even sent on board to examine the defects of the ship and the necessities of the crew. To them Anson pointed out that a permission to purcha e, which was all he demanded, could not safely be denied him; that they must be convinced that the Centurion alone was capable of destroying the whole navigation of the port of Canton, without running the least risk from all the force the Chinese could collect; that his men had hitherto behaved with great mode-

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ration, but that their hunger would at last prove too strong for any restraint; and that it could not be expected that they would long continue to starve in the midst of that plenty which their eyes daily witnessed. Nay, he even added, that if by the delay in supplying them with provisions they should be reduced to the necessity of turning cannibals, it was easy to foresee, that independent of their friendship to each other, they would in point of taste prefer the plump well fed Chinese to their own emaciated shipmates!* The Mandarins seemed struck with the force of these arguments, and immediately wrote a permit in the manner desired by the Commodore.

It was the beginning of April 1743 before the Centurion again put out to sea, new rigged, thoroughly repaired, and fit for fresh adventures. Anson had given out at Macao that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England: nay more, to confirm the delusion, he took on board letters for the former place; but no sooner was he clear of the coast, than summoning all his men on deck he informed them that his real design was to cruise for the two annual ships (of last year and this) on their way from Acapulco. The sailors received this announcement with great joy and three hearty cheers. Although each of these annual ships was known to be much larger and better manned than the Centurion, yet no doubt seemed to exist amongst the

* Anson's Voyage, p. 480.

English of mastering both together; and they spoke of the rich spoil as if already in their grasp. Their only fear was lest they might not find the enemy; none, that they should fail to subdue him.* CHAP. XXII. 1740.

It was off Cape Espiritu Santo that the Commodore proceeded to cruise for the galleons; that being the first headland of the Philippine Islands to which they always steered, and where they usually arrived in the beginning of summer. He had already been a month on that station when, at length, early on the 20th of June the sailors with straining eyes and eager hearts beheld a sail rise on the horizon, and bearing closer to it, discovered it to be one of the long expected galleons. The Spaniards showed no intention to avoid an engagement: they were prepared to expect an enemy, and had resolved to fight; yet they had neglected clearing their ship till the last moment, when already within gunshot, being then observed to throw overboard their cattle and lumber. Anson on the contrary, had made his dispositions with forethought and skill. Having learnt that it is common with the Spaniards to fall down upon the decks when they see a broadside preparing, and to continue

* One instance of this confident spirit is given by Mr. Walter. "The Commodore having taken some Chinese sheep to sea with "him for his own provision, and one day inquiring of his butcher "why for some time past he had seen no mutton at his table, and "whether all the sheep were killed; the butcher very seriously "replied, that there were indeed two sheep left, but that if his "Honour would give him leave he proposed to keep those for the "entertainment of the General of the Galleons!" (Voyage, p. 493.)

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in that posture till it is given, after which they rise again and maintain the battle as before; he wholly disconcerted this scheme by stationing two men at each gun, and dividing the rest into gangs of ten or twelve each—the latter always to move about and fire such guns as were ready, thus keeping up a constant fire, instead of broadsides with intervals between them. Some of the best marksmen, also, he placed on the tops, from whence they made prodigious havoc, killing or wounding every officer but one that appeared on the Spanish quarter-deck, while that deck was likewise swept by the grape-shot from below. The Spaniards fought with bravery, though not with skill; but when their General, who was the life of the action, had been disabled by a wound, they began to fall into disorder. The other officers were then seen attempting with great intrepidity to encourage their men and prevent their desertion from their quarters, but all their endeavours were in vain; their fire slackened, and the proud standard of Spain was struck. They had 151 either killed or wounded, the Centurion only 19.

The name of the galleon was the Nuestra Señora de Covadonga*: it was much larger than the Centurion, and had 550 men, above double the number of the English; so that some of the prisoners, when

* Covadonga is the cave in Asturias where Pelayo sought shelter with his Goths (Mariana, Hist. Hisp. lib. 7. c. 2.); and a church has been built there by Charles the Third. (Miñano, sub. voc.)

brought on board the Centurion, and observing how slenderly she was manned, and the large proportion which the striplings bore to the rest, could not restrain their grief and indignation to be thus beaten, as they said, by a handful of boys. They informed the Commodore that the other ship, which had been detained in the port of Acapulco the preceding year, instead of returning in company with the second galleon as was expected, had sailed alone before the usual period, and was already no doubt in the port of Manilla. The value of the present prize, however, was so large as to atone for any other disappointment: it had on board in silver coin and ingots a million and a half of dollars—a rich and well-earned recompense for the toils of the gallant British crew. 1740.

To secure the prisoners was a task of no small risk, considering their great superiority of numbers. Anson, however, brought them safely with his prize into Canton, where he set them at liberty; and from thence he began his homeward voyage, passing round the Cape of Good Hope. He cast anchor at Spithead in June 1744, after an absence of three years and nine months, thus concluding an expedition in which his happy combination of skill, intrepidity, and prudence retrieved and rose superior to every disaster; and which, though unconnected with the general march of public affairs, is so honourable to the courage, and so conducive to the fame of England, as ever to deserve a conspicuous place in her annals.

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I now revert to the second squadron fitted out in 1739, against the Spanish West Indies. It was entrusted to Captain Edward Vernon, an officer, in most respects, the very opposite of Anson. As calmness and composure were the principal characteristics of the one, so were violence and passion of the other. His father, who had been Secretary of State under King William, had instilled a blind hatred of France, which the son, as a Member of Parliament, indulged by frequent sallies against the pacific policy of Walpole. So unmeasured were his invectives, that he was more than once in danger of the Tower.* He became, however, a great favourite with the multitude, who were, like himself, impatient of peace, and prone, as usual, to consider the noisiest patriot the most sincere; and on the breaking out of war he was appointed an Admiral and Commander of the West Indian squadron, by the very Minister whom he had assailed, from the same concession to popular clamour which had produced the war itself. He was undoubtedly a good officer, so far as courage, enterprise, and experience can constitute that character; but he was harsh and haughty to his inferiors, untoward with his equals, mutinous and railing to all placed above him in authority.

Vernon having sailed from England in July 1739, and being baffled in attempting to intercept the Azogue or quicksilver ships, appeared off Porto

* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 424.

Bello on the 20th of November with six men-of war. The Spanish garrison was only on the peace establishment, and not even complete at that number; the ammunition scanty, and in part spoiled; and many of the cannon, for want of mountings, lying useless on the ground.* On the 21st, Vernon began operations against a fort which protected the entrance of the harbour, and which, as a bravado of its strength, bore the name of the Iron Castle. The fire of his musketry having driven the Spaniards from the lower batteries, his sailors scaled them, mounting on one another's shoulders, and gained the place with very slight resistance. The same evening the Admiral began to batter the Castillo de la Gloria, lying further down the bay, and defending the open town; and he was preparing next day to renew his cannonade, when he observed the castle hang out a white standard, and a boat push towards him with a flag of truce. He readily allowed the garrison to march out with military honours, and thus obtained possession both of castle and town. His own loss in killed was only seven men.† From the several castles he took on board sixty pieces of cannon, spiking the remainder; and employed the gunpowder he captured in springing mines and destroying the fortifications. "It is remarkable," says a contemporary, "that they

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* Juan et Ulloa, Voyage d'Amérique, vol. i. p. 80. ed. 1752. There is also given a plan of the town and harbour.

† Official Account, Whitehall, March 15. 1740. London Gazettes.

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"found more danger and difficulty in demolishing "these works than in taking them." * This object being achieved, Vernon re-embarked his men and returned to Jamaica. The treasure seized in Porto Bello was very inconsiderable; only 10,000 dollars. The sailors might, perhaps, complain and wonder that the Admiral had restrained them from cutting off and bringing home the ears of the Spaniards †, yet they must have deemed it some compensation that he generously resigned to them his own share of prize money.

Such was the capture of Porto Bello, which the reader will scarcely think either very glorious in achievement, or very important in results. But it had been gained by an enemy of Walpole!—and the whole Opposition, with one voice, hastened to proclaim it an heroic exploit! More especially was it urged that Vernon had taken Porto Bello with only six ships, while in 1726 Hosier had not attacked it with twenty; a cry utterly senseless, since it was not pretended that want of force or of courage had hindered Hosier from taking the place, but merely his instructions, that sought to avert and that did avert a war. Nay, so inconsistent is party rancour, that while Vernon was extolled for

* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 444.

† "I have longed this four years past to cut off some of their "ears, and was in hopes I should have sent you one for a sample "now, but our good Admiral, God bless him, was too merciful!" (Letter from a sailor on board the squadron to his wife, printed in Boyer's Political State, vol. lix. p. 195.)

doing with six ships what Hosier could not do with twenty, Hosier in the same breath was pitied and declared to have died of a broken heart, from the inactivity which his orders prescribed. Both these sentiments may be seen—worthless themselves, but precious from the splendid verse that inshrines them—in Glover's ballad at that period, "Hosier's "Ghost"—the noblest song perhaps ever called forth by any British victory except Mr. Campbell's "Battle of the Baltic." In the same spirit, did the Opposition within the House of Commons insist on inserting in their Address of congratulation the obnoxious words "with six ships of war only," and this amendment they carried in a thin House, by 36 against 31. By such insinuations and devices was a general enthusiasm raised amongst the people. We are assured that no Roman Consul, after reducing a province, ever received more lavish marks of public applause than were now showered upon Vernon.* His name became proverbial for courage; his head was a favourite sign; his birthday was celebrated with bonfires and rejoicings.† The Opposition which chaunted his praise in public were no less careful to keep up a private correspondence with him. They inflamed his

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* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 456.

† "It is Admiral Vernon's birth-day, and the city shops are "full of favours, the streets of marrowbones and cleavers, and the "night will be full of mobbing, bonfires, and lights." Horace Walpole to Sir H. Mann, November 12. 1741.

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natural vanity and arrogance, represented Walpole as envious of his fame, and prepared him to consider any future coadjutor as a secret enemy.

On the other hand the Ministers, anxious to pursue his success, had determined to send him a large reinforcement both of ships and soldiers. Their armament was nearly ready, when they received intelligence that a Spanish fleet was putting out to sea; and that a French one was about to sail from Brest, its destination believed to be the West Indies, and its design hostile. It became expedient, therefore, greatly to increase the expedition from England, so as to render it adequate to all emergencies; but this could not be effected without some delay. "I need not tell you," writes Sir Charles Wager to Admiral Vernon, "how much time it necessarily takes up to prepare "and victual so large a squadron for a voyage to "the West Indies, nor how difficult it very often is "to get them out of the channel, when they are "ready to sail, as this year we have experienced; "and I thought it would not be amiss for both "French and Spaniards to be a month or two in the "West Indies before us, provided the treasure was "not ready to embark in that time; that they "might be half dead and half roasted before "our fleet arrived, as I doubt not but it has "happened to them; and the Government here, "laying an embargo upon all provisions in Ireland, "where the French had 14 ships loading provisions

"for the West Indies, has no doubt been a great "disappointment to them.*" The Opposition, however, took care to exclaim against the delay, as though proceeding from the basest motives, and expressed strong doubts whether the expedition would ever really sail.† CHAP. XXII. 1740.

The expedition nevertheless did begin its voyage at the end of October 1740, the troops commanded by Lord Cathcart, and the fleet by Sir Chaloner Ogle. When joined with Vernon at Jamaica, it formed by far the most powerful armament ever yet seen in those seas, amounting to no less than 115 ships, above 30 of these of the line, with 15,000 sailors, and 12,000 land forces on board. Vernon, who meanwhile had taken and demolished the small fort of Chagre, was acknowledged as chief Admiral, while the command of the troops (Lord Cathcart dying from the effects of the climate) devolved on General Wentworth. The precise object of these formidable preparations had not been fixed and prescribed in England; some had suggested the Havana, others Carthagena, and the decision was at length referred to a Council of War, to be held in the West Indies. In this, the impetuous wishes of Vernon, ever prone to dictate rather than consult, prevailed in favour of an attack on Carthagena. Nay, so thoroughly was he bent upon this

* To Admiral Vernon, February 4. 1741.

† "I have not the least notion that our expedition under "Lord Cathcart is intended to be sent any where." Pulteney to Swift, June 3. 1740. Swift's Works, vol. xix. p. 322.

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enterprize, that he had already announced the intention in a letter to the French governor of St. Domingo*—a singular imprudence, which served to give the Spaniards timely notice, and stirred them to more active measures for defence.

Carthagena, then the best fortified and strongest place in Spanish America, stands upon a sandbank nearly surrounded by the sea or salt pools. A tongue of land, beginning at the city, and running out at some distance across a bay, incloses a harbour both spacious and secure. To this harbour there was then only one entrance, so narrow as to deserve the name of Boca Chica (Small Mouth): a boom had been drawn across it, and it was defended by several forts and batteries.† Within the harbour, on a peninsula jutting out from the tongue of land, and thus covering the city, was built another large fort called Castillo Grande, and here the channel was almost impassable, being choked by ships sunk in order to prevent the approach of the British fleet. The ramparts of Carthagena itself had been newly repaired and mounted by no less than 300 pieces of cannon; its garrison could muster 4,000 good soldiers; and its Viceroy, Don Sebastian de Eslava, was an officer of skill and spirit, whose mind, nou-

* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 466. Campo Raso also says of the expedition, "de cuyo suceso estaba Inglaterra tan segura, "que no se recelo de publicarla ocho meses antes de que se "executase; lo que no dexo de contribuir en parte al malogro "de ella." (Comentarios, vol. iv. p. 163.)

† See a description and two plans of Carthagena in Juan and Ulloa, Voyage d'Amérique, vol. i. p. 20—26. ed. 1752.

rished with Greek and Roman story, had long panted for some opportunity to emulate their heroic deeds*, and who—if he needed any meaner motive for exertion—might reflect that the Governor of Porto Bello had been sent to Spain and brought to trial for the surrender of that place.† CHAP XXII. 1740.

Such were the preparations for defence at Carthagena when the British squadron appeared before it on the 4th of March 1741. The first step of the officers on board was to hold a Council of War next day, in order to settle the distribution of their future booty‡; or, according to the fable, sell the skin of the living bear! Perceiving that the high surf made it impracticable to batter Carthagena from the sea, they determined to force the entrance of the harbour, and direct their attack from thence. Accordingly, they opened their fire upon the castle of Boca Chica, landing some troops and artillery, and raising batteries against it. They were met by a resolute resistance, and did not prevail till after the loss of fifteen days and 400 men. It is also certain that the engineers were utterly unskilled, the General far from able; and that Vernon was not wholly without reason for complaining, as he did, of "the soldiers' laziness." Having gained possession of the Boca Chica, and entered the harbour,

* Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain, vol. iii. p. 325.

† Boyer's Polit. State, vol. lix. p. 404. This useful compilation ends in 1740.

‡ Admiral Vernon to the Duke of Newcastle, April 1. 1741. His letters and despatches at this period were afterwards published by himself as a pamphlet. (London 1744.)

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the enemy immediately confined themselves to Carthagena, and relinquished Castillo Grande without a blow, while the Admiral, in great exultation, sent home a ship to announce his approaching victory. "The wonderful success," says he, "of this evening and night is so astonishing, that one cannot "but cry out with the Psalmist, 'It is the Lord's "'doing, and seems marvellous in our eyes.' God "make us truly thankful for it!"* So confident was his language, and so ready the belief it found in England, that, as is asserted, a medal was immediately struck in London to celebrate the taking of Carthagena, bearing on one side the head of Vernon, with an inscription as "The avenger of "his country!"†

The event did not quite confirm these golden dreams. The English sailors, indeed, by dint of labour, cleared a way through the sunk wrecks in front of Castillo Grande, and began to bombard the city from the inner harbour, while the soldiers and

* To the Duke of Newcastle, April 1. 1741.

† Voltaire Siècle de Louis XV. ch. viii. He adds, "Il y a "beaucoup d'examples de ces médailles prématurées qui trom- "peraient la postérité, si l'Histoire plus fidèle et plus exacte ne "prévenait pas de telles erreurs."—Perhaps the most remarkable of all these *médailles prématurées* is that struck by Napoleon for his intended conquest of England; his head on one side, on the other Hercules struggling with a monster; the words DESCENTE EN ANGLETERRE, and beneath FRAPPÉ À LONDRES, MDCCCIV. I am informed that the die having been broken, only two of the original medals are preserved, the one in the Royal Cabinet at Paris, the other purchased by an English gentleman for 50*l.*, but there is a fac-simile made at Birmingham.

artillery, being set on shore, invested it from the land side. But at this period, an animosity that had long smouldered, between the Admiral and the General, burst forth into open flame. Vernon would bear no colleague, and Wentworth no master. The latter complained of the slowness in landing the tents, stores, and artillery of the troops, by which they were prevented from making an immediate attack, and exposed for three nights to all the inclemency of the climate. On the other hand, Vernon declared that the General had remained inactive longer than he should, and had committed an unpardonable error in not cutting off the communication between the town and the adjacent country, by which the garrison was daily supplied with provisions. Each had some reason for his imputations; but each overlooked in the other, while he loudly pleaded for himself, the difficulties of the situation and the service. In the midst of these untoward dissensions, Wentworth, with the advice of a council of officers, attempted to storm Fort San Lazaro, which served as an outwork to the city. Twelve hundred men, headed by General Guise, cheerfully marched to the attack. There was no breach in the wall: the signal for the night attack (for such had been designed) was protracted till nearly broad day; and the deserters who undertook to act as guides were afterwards found, either through ignorance or ill intention, to have led them to the very strongest part of the fortification. Nay more, on reaching the works, it was discovered,

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that from the neglect of the officers, the scaling ladders were partly too short, and partly left behind. The Spaniards also, commanded by Eslava in person, were prepared for vigorous resistance. Yet in spite of all these shameful disadvantages, the soldiers fought with stubborn intrepidity; whole ranks were mowed down by the enemy's cannon without dispiriting the rest; and one party had actually attained the summit of a rampart, when their leader, Colonel Grant, received a death wound, and the men a repulse. Still, however, the survivors remained undaunted under the murderous fire of the fort, until half their number had fallen*, and until their officers, perceiving valour to be useless, and success impossible, sullenly gave the signal to withdraw.

The conduct of Vernon in this affair has been severely—perhaps too severely, judged.† Certain it is, however, that several parts of his behaviour seem not incompatible with a malicious pleasure in the defeat of any enterprise not directed by himself, and that it was not till he saw the attempt irretrievably ruined that he sent his boats, full of men, to the General's assistance. It may well be supposed that such suspicions, combined with the irritation of failure, still further widened the breach between the rival officers, and still more strongly

* In the Spanish account this loss is increased to 1500—more than the original number of assailants! Comentarios de Don Joseph del Campo Raso (vol. iv. p. 162.).

† Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 508.

displayed the evils of joint command. In many cases, as Napoleon acutely observes in his private correspondence, even a bad general is better than two good ones!* CHAP. XXII. 1740.

An enemy still more dire than either discord or the Spaniards now began to assail the British ranks, a sickness, the effect of a tropical climate on European constitutions, and so rapid in its progress, that, as the General declares, he found, in less than two days, his effective force dwindle from 6600 to 3200 men. Under these combined disasters a council of officers, held on the 24th of April, decided to relinquish the enterprise and return to Jamaica, first, however, demolishing the fortifications they had taken. "I believe," writes Vernon, "even the Spaniards will give us a certificate, that "we have effectually destroyed all their castles;" and this was the only fruit of an expedition that in England had cost such lavish sums and raised such high-wrought expectations, that had made Spain tremble for her Indies, that had drawn France in jealousy of our aggrandizement to the very brink of war.†

* Letter to Carnot, May 12. 1796. See also the Mémoires d'un Homme d'Etat, vol. iii. p. 349.

† Some despatches intercepted near Carthagena prove that the Admiral of the French squadron had orders to attack, if he was strong enough. This is Vernon's account:—"One of our "brave sailors, seeing a dead Spaniard lying upon an English "ensign on shore, swore that Spanish dog should not lie upon "English colours, and went ashore to remove his quarters and

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Still less honourable was another expedition undertaken by Vernon and Wentworth in the ensuing July, partly in pursuance of orders from home, and partly in hope to retrieve their reputation. Their object was Santiago in the island of Cuba; their military force reduced to 3000 by sickness and disheartened by failure. A thousand negroes from Jamaica were their unpromising auxiliaries. They landed without opposition in the bay of Guantanamo, to which they gave the name of Cumberland, in honour of the Royal Duke. But this courtly compliment was their only exploit. On sending out parties to reconnoitre Santiago, they received such accounts of the difficulties of the ground and the strength of the place, that Wentworth and his officers judged it best to re-embark; the Admiral, after some angry remonstrances, was compelled to acquiesce, and the enterprise was thus abandoned before it had encountered any, even the slightest resistance. Vernon's own statement on the subject has, at least, the merit of extraordinary frankness:— "Though I pretend to very little experience in "military affairs by land, yet it is my belief that if

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"fetch the colours, when he fortunately discovered wrapped up "in those colours the packets of letters from the Spanish Ad- "miral Rodrigo de Torres, ... and the French Secretary of "State's orders to the Marquis d'Antin (the French Admiral), "by which your Grace will see they had both orders jointly or "separately to fall on us." To the Duke of Newcastle, May 30. 1741.

" the sole command had been in me, both in the " Carthagena expedition and the Cuba one, His " Majesty's forces would have made themselves " masters both of Carthagena and Santiago, and " with the loss of much fewer men than have " died! *"

* To the Duke of Newcastle, October 2. 1742.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

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When Parliament met in November 1740, the Opposition, mindful of the approaching elections, under the Septennial Act, strained every nerve to aggravate the difficulties and blacken the character of Walpole. No sooner had the King's Speech been read by the Lord Chancellor, than the Duke of Argyle, suddenly started up, anticipating Lord Holderness the intended mover of the Ministerial Address, and proposed an Address of his own; he arraigned the whole conduct of the war, and instead of following the various topics of the Royal Speech, suggested merely a general assurance of support. On the same side Lord Carteret bitterly inveighed against "a Minister "who has for almost twenty years been demonstra- "ting to the world that he has neither wisdom nor "conduct. He may have a little low cunning, "such as those have that buy cattle in Smithfield

"market, or such as a French valet makes use of "for managing an indulgent master, but the whole "tenour of his conduct has shown that he has "no true wisdom: this our allies know and "bemoan; this our enemies know and rejoice in!" Still more invidiously did Chesterfield represent the Government, as "begging hard for a little incense, "and endeavouring to have a motion rejected with "which even they themselves can find no fault, in "order to make room for encomiums which them-"selves have prepared!" However, the motion of Lord Holderness, being brought forward as an amendment, was carried by 66 votes against 38; and in the Commons as decisive a majority declared in favour of the original Address.*

In pursuance of this opening, the Opposition proceeded night after night to heap imputations on the Minister, and to harass him with incessant motions for the production of papers and letters, such as might tend either to criminate him if disclosed, or afford a handle for invective if refused. The Upper House especially was the chosen scene of this warfare. First came an Address for the Instructions to Vernon in taking Porto-Bello, intended to show that the whole merit belonged to the Admiral, and none to the Minister. "Can we expect," cried

* Mr. Orlebar to the Rev. H. Etough, Nov. 22, 1740. Parl. Hist., vol. xi. p. 613—696. The account of the Commons' debate is extremely meagre, and no mention made of either Pitt or Lyttleton's speeches, except that Mr. Orlebar says they were "very warm, which occasioned Sir Robert to be so too."

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Chesterfield, "that he who gave Admiral Hosier "orders to persuade the enemy's ships to sur- "render, and to lie with his squadron till it rotted "before a sea port which Mr. Vernon has taken "with a fourth part of the force, I say can we "expect that he will give proper orders to any "Admiral?" Next appeared a motion for the letters from and to Vernon; after this another for the Instructions to Haddock, who having been sent with a large squadron to the Mediterranean had, it was alleged, remained shamefully inactive. In vain did Newcastle urge that Haddock had guarded Gibraltar and Port Mahon, blockaded Cadiz, and protected the British trade; such considerations it was answered were but mean and mercantile. "My "Lords," began Bathurst, with his usual caustic wit, "the two noble young Lords who opened "this debate" (Sandwich and Halifax) "spoke "with such dignity, such strength of argument, "and such propriety of expression, that I began "to imagine myself in an old Roman or Lacedæ- "monian Senate, and therefore I must return "thanks to the Noble Duke who spoke last, for "he has brought me back to a British House of "Peers!*".

These motions, and another strangely inconsistent with them, against any augmentation of the army, were, indeed, rejected by the Ministerial majority,

* Parl. Hist. vol. xi. p. 787. Lord Sandwich afterwards filled many high offices in the State, but was never again compared to a Roman Senator.

but served, as was intended, to agitate and inflame the public mind, and prepare the way for the main attack, designed in both Houses to be aimed personally and directly against the Prime Minister. The cry of "Down with Walpole!" was almost the only one on which the Tories and Whigs in Opposition could heartily join, especially since the death of Wyndham, which had greatly loosened the bonds of their alliance. All of them concurred in hatred of the Minister; but few, as to the men or the measures that should follow his dismissal. That cry was also well adapted for effect upon the people, who, it may be observed, are far more easily excited by personal than by political questions, although they have never any interest in the first and are often deeply concerned in the latter. On that cry, therefore, did Argyle and the other Whigs in Opposition determine to concentrate their whole strength; but it appears that, satisfied with having found a subject well adapted for concert, they neglected to secure that concert by previous communication with their Tory friends, and reckoned on probabilities instead of obtaining promises. CHAP. XXIII. 1740.

Thus resolved upon, the great attack was fixed in both Houses for the same day, the 13th of February; to be brought forward in the Peers by Lord Carteret, in the Commons by Mr. Samuel Sandys. It is difficult to understand why so important a motion should have been entrusted to a member hitherto of no great note in the ranks of Opposi- 1741.

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tion*, unless either Mr. Sandys had the merit of first suggesting it, or that the principal leaders wished to reserve themselves for reply. Two days previously, Sandys, crossing over the floor in the House of Commons, accosted the Minister, saying, that he thought himself bound in common courtesy to inform him that he intended to bring an accusation of several articles against him; and soon afterwards, rising in his place, he gave public notice that he should on the ensuing Friday open a matter of great importance, which personally concerned the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who he therefore hoped would be present. Walpole received the intimation with great composure and dignity; he rose to thank his opponent for his notice; said that he desired no favour, but only fair play, and would not fail to attend the accusation as not conscious of any crime, and he concluded with an appropriate line from his favourite Horace.†

* The abilities of Sandys are spoken of with much contempt by his enemies. Sir Charles Hanbury Williams satirically laments that he could not spell (Sir C. H. Williams' Works, vol. i. p. 151. ed. 1822.); and Horace Walpole calls him, in 1755, "the outcast of a former silly administration" (Memoirs, vol. i. p. 484.). He had been M. P. for Worcester ever since 1717.

† A remarkable incident then occurred between Walpole and Pulteney. According to the custom of that period, these leaders of adverse parties used to sit together on the Treasury Bench as Privy Councillors. Walpole had quoted

"Nil conscire sibi, *nulli* pallescere culpâ."

When he sat down Pulteney drily observed to him that it was false Latin; Sir Robert betted him a guinea it was not; and they agreed to refer their dispute to Mr. Nicholas Hardinge, clerk of the House, who was known as an excellent scholar.

On the appointed day the public expectation rose to the highest pitch; the gallery was thronged with eager spectators; several members had secured their seats at six in the morning, and at one time there were nearly 500 in the House. The debate began at one o'clock. The speech of Sandys, probably concerted with the principal Opposition leaders, was elaborate and able. Having first lamented the dreadful calamities of the nation, and urged an inquiry into the causes of them, he declared that he should divide his accusation into three branches, foreign negotiations, domestic government, and the conduct of the war. As to the former, he inveighed, especially, against the Treaty of Hanover, the Act of the Pardo, the acquisition of Lorraine by France, and the Spanish Convention. With respect to affairs at home, he charged Sir Robert with fraudulent views in adjusting the South Sea Scheme; he computed the produce of the Sinking Fund in 1727, and asserted that the national debt was not diminished, although the Sinking Fund had, since that period, produced no less than 15,000,000*l.*—"all spent in Spithead "expeditions and Hyde Park reviews!" He next

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Hardinge decided for Pulteney, the right word being *nullæ* instead of *nulli*. The guinea was immediately tossed to Pulteney, who caught it, and held it up to the House, exclaiming, "It is the only public money I have received for many years, "and it shall be the last!"—This anecdote, with a few slight variations, is recorded in nearly all the histories of that time. Mr. Nicholas Hardinge was the grandfather of my gallant and distinguished friend, Sir Henry.

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enumerated many instances of unconstitutional conduct. A larger standing army than was necessary—squadrons fitted out at an enormous expence, and never employed against an enemy—all methods to secure the Constitution against corruption rejected—many penal laws passed of an arbitrary tendency—votes of credit frequent—expences of the Civil List increased—the abolition of burthensome taxes opposed merely because their collection required a great number of placemen—officers dismissed for voting against the Excise Scheme, one of the weakest yet most violent projects ever set on foot by any Minister. Entering next upon the conduct of the war, Sandys complained that no sufficient reinforcements had been sent to Vernon in the West Indies, and that Haddock in the Mediterranean had been almost equally neglected. "Things being thus," said he, "I shall now name "the author of all these public calamities. I be- "lieve no one can mistake the person to whom I "allude; every one must be convinced that I mean "the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite. . . . . "If it should be asked why I impute all these evils "to one person, I reply, because that one person "has grasped in his own hands every branch of "government; that one person has attained the "sole direction of affairs, monopolized all the "favours of the Crown, compassed the disposal of "all places, pensions, titles, ribands, as well as all "preferments, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; "that one person has made a blind submission to his

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"will, both in Elections and Parliament, the only "terms of present favour and future expectation. "....I therefore move, That an humble Address "be presented to His Majesty, that he would be "graciously pleased to remove the Right Honour- "able Sir Robert Walpole from His Majesty's "presence and counsels for ever."

Lord Limerick having seconded this motion, it was next suggested that Sir Robert should be directed to retire from the House during the debate—a course supported by several ancient precedents, where specific charges or points of evidence were in question, but in this case most unjust, as enabling any enemies to heap vague imputations upon the Minister, without allowing him any opportunity for explanation or reply. The mover of this last proposal, Mr. Wortley Montagu, was a gentleman of immense property and consequent weight amongst his contemporaries, but only known or deserving to be known to posterity as the husband of the British Sevigné. He appears to have combined very moderate talents with most overweening vanity. From several of Lady Mary's letters to him we may gather that no flatteries were too gross for his taste. Thus "I never knew any man capable of such a "strength of resolution as yourself." — "I have "always told you it is in your power to make the "first figure in the House of Commons." — "You "have a stronger judgment than any!"* No man

* To Mr. Wortley, January 25. 1742, June 1. 1740, and

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of real sense would have endured such fulsome praises of it.

1741. The motion of Wortley Montagu was seconded by Mr. Gibbon; but, so general seemed the feeling in the House of its unfairness, and of the inapplicability of the precedents, that the proposal was withdrawn, and it was agreed that Walpole should be permitted to hear every accusation and to speak the last. The debate then reverting to the main question was long and acrimonious. The Minister was defended by Pelham and Stephen Fox, perhaps with more zeal than talent: the ablest speeches against him were Pitt's and Pulteney's. Edward Harley, brother of the Lord Treasurer Oxford, and who a few months afterwards, on the death of his nephew, succeeded to the earldom, gave a rare and most praiseworthy example of moderation. "I "do not," said he, "stand up at this time of night "either to accuse or flatter any man. Since I have "had the honour to sit in Parliament, I have "opposed the measures of administration because "I thought them wrong, and as long as they are I "shall continue to give as constant an opposition

March 23. 1744. It is asserted that there still exists in MS. a speech of this "first figure in the House of Commons," which he intended to read from his hat; it has certain notable hints for the delivery carefully arranged along the margin, such as "here pause for a minute"—"look round"—"slow"—"loud"—"cough."—I hope his hearers never applied the latter hint to themselves! See Quarterly Review, No. xlvi. p. 416.

"to them. The state of the nation by the conduct of our Ministers is deplorable; a war is destroying us abroad, and poverty and corruption "are devouring us at home. But whatever I may "think of men, God forbid that my private "opinion should be the only rule of my judgment! "I should desire to have an exterior conviction "from facts and evidences..... A Noble Lord "to whom I had the honour to be related has been "often mentioned in this debate. He was impeached and imprisoned; by that imprisonment "his years were shortened; and the prosecution was "carried on by the Right Honourable gentleman "who is now the subject of your question, though "he knew at that very time that there was no evidence to support it. I am now, Sir, glad of this "opportunity to return good for evil, and to do "that Right Honourable gentleman and his family "that justice which he denied to mine."—So saying he left the house, and was followed by his kinsman Mr. Robert Harley.

As remarkable, though on very different grounds, was the conduct of Shippen. He observed that he looked upon this motion as only a scheme for turning out one Minister and bringing in another; that it was quite indifferent to him who was in or who was out; and that therefore he would give himself no concern in the question. With these words he withdrew, and was followed by thirty-four of his friends. Nay, Lord Cornbury even went further; and, declaring that no man whose ardour

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for vengeance had not extinguished every other motive of action could resolve to sanction a method of prosecution by which the good and bad are equally endangered, announced that he should vote against the motion. The course of these Jacobite Members excited much surprise, and called forth many conjectures. So far as Shippen himself is concerned, it is explained by a fact which one of his relatives communicated to Mr. Coxe. Some time before, Sir Robert Walpole having discovered a correspondence which one of Shippen's party carried on with the Pretender, Shippen called on the Minister, and entreated him to save his friend. Sir Robert readily complied, and then said: "Mr. "Shippen, I cannot desire you to vote with the "administration, for with your principles I have "no right to expect it. But I only require, when-"ever any question is brought forward in the House "affecting me personally, that you will recollect "the favour I have now granted you.*" It is not to be supposed, however, that this engagement could bind any one but Shippen himself. But a letter of Mr. Thomas Carte, in the Stuart collection, and referring to this very subject, shows that the hopes inspired by Walpole's message to the Pretender were not yet wholly dissipated.† It proves also that the motion of Sandys had been hastily

* Memoirs of Walpole, vol. i. p. 671.

† Mr. Carte to the Pretender (Received April 17. 1741). See Appendix.

brought forward without due and sufficient communication to the Jacobite Members, and that at the last moment they felt displeased, and determined to show their displeasure, at this arrogant neglect.

When Pulteney had sat down Sir Robert rose, and delivered a speech equal if not superior to any of his former efforts. Some of the charges against him, such as the despotic dismissal of officers, did not in my opinion admit of any satisfactory answer; but on many points his defence was conclusive, and on all most able. He observed that the parties combined against him might be divided into three classes, the Tories, the dissatisfied Whigs, calling themselves Patriots, and the Boys—the latter phrase denoting how generally the young men of promise who entered Parliament had joined the Opposition banner, and thus afforded, perhaps, the surest of all omens of a Minister's fall. "The Tories," said Sir Robert, "I can easily forgive; they have unwillingly come into the measure, and they do me "honour in thinking it necessary to remove me as "their only obstacle. . . . . Gentlemen have "talked a great deal of patriotism — a venerable "word when duly practised; but I am sorry to "say that of late it has been so much hackneyed "about, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace; "the very idea of true patriotism is lost, and "the term has been prostituted to the very worst "of purposes. A patriot, Sir! why patriots spring "up like mushrooms! I could raise fifty of them

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"within the four-and-twenty hours—I have raised "many of them in one night. It is but refusing to "gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, "and up starts a patriot. I have never been afraid "of making patriots, but I disdain and despise all "their efforts. . . . . I am called repeatedly and "insidiously prime and sole minister. Admitting, "however, for the sake of argument, that I am "prime and sole minister in this country; am I "therefore prime and sole minister of all Europe? "am I answerable for the conduct of other coun- "tries as well as for that of my own? Many words "are not wanting to show that the particular views "of each Court occasioned the dangers which af- "fected the public tranquillity; yet the whole is "charged to my account. Nor is this sufficient; "whatever was the conduct of England, I am equally "arraigned. If we maintained ourselves in peace, "and took no share in foreign transactions, we are "reproached for tameness and pusillanimity. If, "on the contrary, we interfered in the disputes, "we are called Don Quixotes, and dupes to all the "world. If we contracted guarantees, it was asked, "why is the nation wantonly burthened? If gua- "rantees were declined, we were reproached with "having no allies."

Sir Robert next proceeded to vindicate the Treaty of Hanover, and the whole series of his foreign policy. In his financial administration, he contended that within the last sixteen or seventeen years no less than 8,000,000*l.* of the Debt had been

discharged by the application of the Sinking Fund, and 7,000,000*l.* more taken from that fund and applied to the relief of the agriculturists through the diminution of the Land Tax. As to the conduct of the war, "as I am neither Admiral nor Gene-"ral," said he, "as I have nothing to do either with "our Navy or Army, I am sure I am not answer-"able for the prosecution of it. But were I to "answer for every thing, no fault could, I think, "be found. It has from the beginning been car-"ried on with as much vigour, and as great care of "our trade, as was consistent with our safety at "home, or with our circumstances at the begin-"ning of the war; and if our attacks upon the "enemy were too long delayed, or if they have "not been so vigorous or so frequent as they "ought to have been, those only are to blame who "have for many years been haranguing against "standing armies. . . . . In conclusion, what have "been the effects of this corruption, ambition, and "avarice with which I am so abundantly charged? "Have I ever been suspected of being corrupted? "A strange phenomenon, a corrupter himself not "corrupt! Is ambition imputed to me? Why then "do I still continue a Commoner? I, who refused "a White Staff and a Peerage!—I had, indeed, "like to have forgotten the little ornament about "my shoulders, which gentlemen have so repeat-"edly mentioned in terms of sarcastic obloquy. "But surely, though this may be regarded with

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"envy or indignation in another place, it cannot "be supposed to raise any resentment in this "House, where many must be pleased to see those "honours which their ancestors have worn re- "stored again to the Commons. .... I must "think that an Address to His Majesty to remove "one of his servants, without so much as alleging "any particular crime against him, is one of the "greatest encroachments that was ever made upon "the prerogative of the Crown; and, therefore, for "the sake of my master, without any regard for "my own, I hope all those that have a due respect "for our Constitution, and for the rights and pre- "rogatives of the Crown, without which our Con- "stitution cannot be preserved, will be against "this motion."

This speech, which was not concluded till nearly four in the morning, produced a strong effect, and was followed by a triumphant division; the numbers being, for the motion 106, against it 290, an unusually large majority, mainly resulting, however, from the secession of the Tories. In the Upper House, that evening, Lord Carteret was powerfully supported by Argyle and Bathurst, but opposed by the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Newcastle, and Lord Hervey, and the motion was negatived by 108 votes against 59. The Prince of Wales was present, but did not vote; and it was observed that Lord Wilmington, though holding office under the Government, likewise remained neutral. A strong protest, which had been pre-

pared, as is said, by Bolingbroke*, was signed by 31 Peers. CHAP. XXIII. 1741.

The remark of Sir Robert himself, in a conversation with Sandys, was, that they might, perhaps, get the better of him, but he was sure no other Minister would ever be able to stand so long as he had done—twenty years.† The first effect of these motions seemed to be the securing of Walpole in power. His levee the next morning was the fullest ever known‡; congratulations poured in from all sides; while his opponents, baffled and confounded, were imputing to each other the blame of their failure. But in its ulterior consequences the motion of Sandys served in the ensuing general election to point and concentrate every attack upon the Minister, as the one great grievance of the state; and, on the other hand, it is asserted that his success on this occasion threw him off his guard, and by increasing his confidence slackened his exertions.§

An occurrence of this Session, still more important in its consequences, was the Subsidy granted to the Court of Vienna, where there had arisen a new conjuncture of affairs, portentous and eventful to the other European states. The Emperor

* Charles Yorke to Philip Yorke. Coxe's Walpole, vol. iii. p. 565.

† Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 108. The date of 1739 is clearly erroneous.

‡ Mr. T. Carte to the Pretender. Letter received April 17. 1741.

§ Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 491.

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Charles the Sixth had died on the 20th of October 1740. His daughter Maria Theresa, the heiress of his dominions with the title of Queen of Hungary, was but twenty-three years of age, without experience or knowledge of business; and her husband Francis, the titular Duke of Lorraine and reigning Grand Duke of Tuscany, deserved the praise of amiable qualities rather than of commanding talents. Her ministers were timorous, irresolute, and useless: "I saw them in despair," writes Mr. Robinson, the British envoy, "but that very despair was not capable of rendering them truly desperate."* The treasury was exhausted, the army dispersed, and no general risen to replace Eugene. The succession of Maria Theresa was, indeed, cheerfully acknowledged by her subjects, and seemed to be secured amongst foreign powers by their guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction; but it soon appeared that such guarantees are mere worthless parchments, where there is strong temptation to break and only a feeble army to support them. The principal claimant to the succession was the Elector of Bavaria, who maintained that the will of the Emperor Ferdinand the First devised the Austrian states to his daughter, from whom the Elector descended, on failure of male lineage. It appeared that the original will in the archives at Vienna referred to the failure, not of the male but of the legitimate issue of his

* Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington, October 22. 1740. Coxe's House of Austria.

sons; but this document, though ostentatiously displayed to all the ministers of state and foreign ambassadors, was very far from inducing the Elector to desist from his pretensions.* CHAP. XXIII. 1741.

As to the Great Powers—the Court of France, the old ally of the Bavarian family, and mindful of its injuries from the House of Austria, was eager to exalt the first by the depression of the latter. The Bourbons in Spain followed the direction of the Bourbons in France. The King of Poland and the Empress of Russia were more friendly in their expressions than in their designs. An opposite spirit pervaded England and Holland, where motives of honour and of policy combined to support the rights of Maria Theresa. In Germany itself the Elector of Cologne, the Bavarian's brother, warmly espoused his cause; and "the remaining "Electors," says Chesterfield, "like electors with "us, thought it a proper opportunity of making "the most of their votes,—and all at the expense of "the helpless and abandoned House of Austria!"†

The first blow, however, came from Prussia, where the King Frederick William had died a few months before, and been succeeded by his son Frederick the Second; a Prince surnamed the Great by poets, and who would have deserved that title better had he not been one of them himself. It is difficult to understand how the same spirit

* Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington, October 26. and November 7. 1740.

† Case of the Hanover Forces.

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could sometimes soar to the most lofty achievements —sometimes creep in the most wretched rhymes; and when we painfully toil through page after page, and volume after volume of intolerable dullness, here and there enlivened by blasphemy, we can scarcely believe that they really proceeded from the first warrior and statesman of his age. Voltaire, who knew him well, gave him the nickname of CESAR-COTIN.* Nor was there a less striking contrast between the qualities of his heart and of his head. Vain, selfish, and ungrateful, destitute of truth and honour, he valued his companions, not from former kindness, but only for future use.† But turn we to his talents, and we find the most consummate skill in war, formed by his own genius and acquired from no master; we find a prompt, sagacious, and unbending administration of affairs; an activity and application seldom yielding to sickness and never relaxed by pleasure, and seeking no repose

* Abbé Cotin, the constant butt of Boileau's satire, was also the original of Molière's *Trissotin* in *Les Femmes Savantes*. The name was at first *Tri-cotin*, but afterwards altered, the allusion being thought too plain.

† This appeared from the very outset of his reign. See in the Appendix a letter from Lord Deskford to Marquis Visconti, December 26. 1740. A similar statement is made by Voltaire. He tells us that when at Berlin some persons remonstrated with the King for favouring him so highly. "'Laissez faire,' dit le " 'Roi, on presse l'orange, et on la jette quand on a avalé le jus.' " La Metrie ne manqua pas de me rendre ce bel apophthègme " digne de Dénis de Syracuse. Je résolus dès lors de mettre " en sûreté les pelures de l'orange!" (Mémoires de Voltaire, p. 224. ed. 1822.)

except by variety of occupation; a high and overruling ambition, capable of the greatest exploits or of the most abject baseness, as either tended to its object, but never losing sight of that object; pursuing it with dauntless courage and an eagle eye, sometimes in the heavens and sometimes through the mire, and never tolerating either in himself or in others one moment of languor or one touch of pity! CHAP. XXIII. 1741.

This aspiring Prince had found on his accession an immense treasure and an excellent army; he panted for an opportunity of employing both, and availed himself of the Emperor's death to revive some obsolete claims to certain duchies and lordships in Silesia. While others negotiated, he acted. He quietly collected his troops, all the while continuing his professions of amity to the Court of Vienna; and, when his preparations were complete, secretly quitting Berlin at the close of a masked ball, on the 23d of December he entered Silesia, at the head of thirty thousand men. He had not strengthened himself by any engagements with the Court of Versailles, but he relied on its ancient animosity against the House of Austria, and perceived that he might sign an alliance whenever he gained a victory. As he set off, he said to the French Ambassador, the Marquis de Beauvau: "I am going, "I believe, to play your game; and if I should "throw doublets, we will share the stakes."*

* Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV. ch. 6.

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At the same time, however, Frederick made an overture in the opposite quarter. He dispatched Count Gotter as his agent to Vienna, to announce his intended invasion, and to propose that the Queen of Hungary should cede to him the province of Lower Silesia, on which condition he would undertake to change sides, and employ his troops and treasure in defending Her Majesty against all her enemies: and obtaining for the Duke her husband the Imperial Crown. But the high spirit of Maria Theresa could ill brook such submission. She declared that so long as the King of Prussia had a man in Silesia she would sooner perish than enter into any terms with him, and Gotter returned in disappointment to his master.*

Meanwhile the invasion of Silesia was easy and almost unopposed. The Queen's troops, only 3000 in number, were compelled to retreat into Moravia; and the Protestants, who had suffered severely under the Austrian yoke, hailed Frederick as a champion of their faith. Before the end of January he had reduced the whole province except the fortified towns of Glogau, Brieg, and Neiss. Yet, still he affected to call himself a friend of the house of Austria, and wrote to the Duke of Lorraine:—"My heart has no share in the mischief "which my hand is doing to your Court."† Such hypocritical assurances tended only to inflame the

* Coxe's House of Austria, vol. iii. p. 232—234.

† Despatch of Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington, February 22. 1741.

resentment of Maria Theresa. She collected an army of about 24,000 men in Moravia, and drew Marshal Neipperg from a prison to place him at its head.* According to her orders Neipperg, crossing the mountains, entered Silesia, and pushed forward to Neiss and Brieg, while Frederick, who had returned for a short time to Berlin, hastened back to meet his new antagonist. On the 10th of April the Prussians, approaching by rapid marches and favoured by a fall of snow, surprised Neipperg at Molwitz, a village near Brieg. The battle, however, which ensued, seemed at first to declare against them; their cavalry, much inferior to the Austrian, was entirely routed; the King's baggage was taken; and the King himself was borne along by the crowd of fugitives to Oppellen, many miles from the field of action.† But the bravery and steadiness of the Prussian infantry, under Marshal



* Neipperg had been disgraced and sent to the castle of Hallitz in 1739, for signing the preliminaries of a disadvantageous peace with the Turks. (Coxe's House of Austria, vol. iii. p. 198.)

† Frederick's behaviour in this flight was characteristically selfish. On arriving at Oppellen, the place was found to be occupied by an Austrian out-post, and some Hussars sallied out against the King's party; upon which Frederick exclaimed to Maupertuis, the French mathematician, and some other attendants, "Farewell, my friends, I am better mounted than you all!" and gaily rode off, leaving Maupertuis and some others to be taken prisoners. This was related by Maupertuis himself at Vienna to Mr. Robinson. (Despatch to Lord Harrington, April 22. 1741.)

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Schwerin, retrieved the day: they not only arrested the progress of Neipperg's already half victorious troops, but put them to flight with the loss of 3000 men and several pieces of cannon. An express was then dispatched to the King in the rear, informing him that the battle which he had long since despaired of was completely won. A strange outset of a hero's career, but nobly repaired in after years!

The disaster of Molwitz revealing the weakness of the Austrian monarchy encouraged new claimants to its spoils. The Kings of Spain, of Sardinia, and of Poland as Elector of Saxony, each on different grounds, pretended to some share in its dominions. On the other hand a generous spirit was rising throughout England to support the injured Queen, and the Opposition already began to clamour against the tameness of the Minister. Thus goaded, Walpole brought forward an Address in the House of Commons, pledging Parliament to maintain the Pragmatic Sanction: he also proposed a Subsidy of 300,000*l.* to the Queen of Hungary, and acknowledged the national obligation by treaty of assisting her with a force of 12,000 men. These motions were supported by Pulteney and other chiefs of the "patriots," but did not pass without some severe remarks from Shippen, who declared that the measures were intended only to secure the King's Electoral dominions. A similar Address, proposed by Ministers in the House of Lords, dis-

played a still wider schism in the Opposition ranks; Carteret speaking in favour of the motion, but Chesterfield and Argyle opposing it as too Hanoverian. According to Chesterfield, "the Prince of "Wales behaved sillily upon this occasion, making "Lords North and Darnley vote against us; such "was the power of the NATALE SOLUM. This "has hurt him much with the public.*" Carteret on his part, with the view of thwarting Walpole's negotiations, took care to assure Count Ostein, the Austrian Ambassador, that the Subsidy did not proceed from the good disposition of the Minister, but had been extorted by the general voice of the Parliament and people.† CHAP. XXIII. 1741.

The great object of Walpole's negotiations at this time was to break the confederacy against Maria Theresa, by detaching the King of Prussia from it, nay, even converting him into an ally. It was found, however, far from easy to mediate between a victorious invader and a haughty and offended Queen. When Lord Hyndford the English Ambassador urged Frederick to moderate his pretensions, and represented how beautiful a thing is magnanimity, he was impatiently interrupted:—"Do not talk to "me, my Lord, of magnanimity! a Prince ought "first to consult his own interests. I am not averse "to a peace, but I expect to have four Duchies,

* Lord Chesterfield to Lord Marchmont, April 24. 1741. Marchmont Papers, vol. ii.

† See the Life of Lord Walpole, of Wolterton, p. 224.

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"and I will have them."* Mr. Robinson at Vienna had full as many obstacles to combat. Scarce any concession could be wrung from Maria Theresa; she resolutely refused every part of Silesia, but at length proposed the Duchy of Limburg and other lands in the Low Countries. Even to these inadequate terms she was brought with extreme reluctance, and while empowering Mr. Robinson to make the offer to Frederick, passionately exclaimed, "I hope he may reject it!" That wish was soon accomplished. On arriving at the Prussian head-quarters the British Minister immediately opened his commission to the King, but was encountered by a burst of indignation. "Still "beggarly offers!" cried Frederick. "Since you "have nothing to propose on the side of Silesia, "all negotiations are useless. My ancestors," added he, with theatrical gestures, "would rise "out of their tombs to reproach me, should I "abandon my just rights." So saying he took off his hat, and rushed behind the inner curtain of his tent.†

Thus then the war continued, fraught with dangers and apparent ruin to the Austrian Heiress. At the Court of France the pacific influence of

* Despatch of Lord Hyndford to Lord Harrington, Breslau, June 12. 1741.

† The details of this curious interview are related by Mr. Robinson in his despatch to Lord Harrington, August 9. 1741. A second journey of Robinson, with larger offers, proved equally fruitless.

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Fleury was overborne by the Marshal de Belleisle, assisted by a female cabal; and Fleury, when driven to choose between the sacrifice of his power and of his principles, still at the age of eighty-seven clung with dying grasp to the former. He unworthily consented to preside over councils which he had long gainsaid and still disapproved. Belleisle was despatched to Breslau and to Dresden to concert the terms of alliance; with Munich they were already formed. The projects of Jacobite risings and French assistance were postponed at Versailles, the more readily, perhaps, since the failure at Carthagena had diminished the fear of British aggrandizement; and the troops were collected in two great armies for the invasion of Germany. The first army under Marshal Maillebois passed the Meuse and Rhine and advanced towards Hanover, where King George was then residing, having gone abroad in the spring in spite of the urgent entreaties of Walpole, and leaving that Minister to struggle, as he best might, through the difficulties of the General Election. His Majesty was accompanied by Lord Harrington as Secretary of State, and was employed in assembling troops for the support of the Queen of Hungary, when the approach of the French chilled his ardour and arrested his arms. Trembling for what was always nearest to his heart, his Electoral dominions, he concluded one year's neutrality for Hanover, stipulating that during that period it should yield no assistance to Maria

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Theresa, and that at the ensuing Election of Emperor its vote should not be given in favour of her husband. This treaty, signed on the 16th of September, was reprobated, and not without some reason, as a pusillanimous and selfish measure, and it is difficult to say whether it excited most displeasure in Austria or in England.

The second French army, 35,000 strong, and headed by Marshals de Belleisle and de Broglie, pouring into Bavaria, joined the Elector's forces, and reduced the important city of Lintz. There the Elector was inaugurated Duke of Austria, and declared war against Maria Theresa by the name of Grand Duchess of Tuscany. Already had his outposts pushed within three leagues of Vienna, already was a summons sent to Count Khevenhüller, Governor of that capital, already did its inhabitants hastily prepare, some for flight, others for resistance; and while a suburb which had grown up beneath the fortifications was destroyed, the Danube was covered with barges conveying away the most precious effects. The Queen herself, then advanced in pregnancy, was induced to depart with her infant son, leaving her husband and her brother-in-law Prince Charles of Lorraine to defend her capital and maintain her cause.

Amidst this long train of disasters no resource seemed left to the unfortunate Princess, but a people whose lofty spirit accorded with her own. For years, nay for centuries, had the Hungarians

groaned or rebelled beneath the despotism of her imperial ancestry. While they formed the outpost of Christendom upon their frontier, they were no less the martyrs of tyranny at home: almost equally assailed from Constantinople and from Vienna, they had to defend their religion with one hand and their privileges with the other. The flower of their chivalry was again and again mowed down in battle by the Turks or immured in dungeons by the Austrians, yet always started up afresh with renewed valour and unconquerable love of liberty. Never, perhaps, had any nation undergone more grievous calamities or displayed more heroic courage. "In going through Hungary," says an English traveller, one hundred and twenty years ago, "nothing can be more melancholy than to see "such a noble spot of earth almost uninhabited*;" and even at the present day, after a long period of quiet and good government, the scanty and squalid population, the dismal towns, and the uncultivated fields, still bear impressed upon them the stamp of former misery, and show how unavailing are the most lavish gifts of Providence where the greatest of all—Peace and Freedom—were denied.

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It was to this noble nation, resolute against the strong oppressor, but generous to the feeble and the suppliant, that now, at her utmost need, the Austrian Queen appealed. She had already, when crowned

* Lady Mary W. Montagu to the Countess of Mar, January 30. 1717.

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at Presburg in the June preceding, gratified them by reviving and taking the oath of their King, Andrew the Second (it had been abolished by her grandfather) in confirmation of their privileges, and by fulfilling the stately ceremonies which their forms prescribed. Placing on her head the crown of St. Stephen, and borne by a spirited charger, she rode up the ancient barrow called the Royal Mount, and from thence, according to the established custom, waved a drawn sword towards the four cardinal points, as though defying the universe to war. So fair and graceful was her aspect, that, as an eye-witness exclaimed, she did not require her weapon to conquer all who saw her.* Yet lovely as she seemed in her Royal Crown, her fascination augmented after she had laid it aside, when her beautiful hair, no longer confined by it, flowed freely in long ringlets on her shoulders, while the excitement of the previous ceremony diffused a warmer glow over her charming features; and, as she sate down in public state at the Royal banquet, there was not a heart among the spectators, however, chilled by age—or worse than age, by selfishness—

* Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington, June 28. 1741. This scene was also detailed by several gentlemen who were present to Sir N. Wraxall (Courts of Berlin, Vienna, &c., vol. ii. p. 299. ed. 1799.). He adds, "I am assured by those who witnessed her coronation, that she was then one of the most charming women in Europe: her figure elegant, her shape fine, and her demeanour majestic." I have compared and combined both descriptions in my narrative.

that did not beat high with chivalrous and loyal admiration. CHAP. XXIII.

Endeared by these recollections, the young Queen, or as they termed her, the King, (for in Hungary the female title is applied only to Queens Consort,) again repaired to Presburg a few months afterwards as a fugitive from Vienna. All the Magnates and other orders of the kingdom were there assembled in Diet. On the 11th of September, a day whose memory has ever since been cherished in Hungary, she summoned them to attend her at the Castle; they came, and when marshalled in the Great Hall, the Queen appeared: she was still in deep mourning for her father, but her dress was Hungarian, the crown of St. Stephen was on her head, and the scimitar of state at her side. Her step was firm and majestic, but her voice faltered, and tears flowed from her eyes. For some moments she was unable to utter a single word, and the whole assembly remained in deep and mournful silence. At length her infant son, afterwards Joseph the Second, was brought in by the first Lady of the Bedchamber, and laid on a cushion before her. With an action more eloquent than any words, the Queen, took him in her arms, and held him up to the assembly, and while sobs still at intervals burst through her voice, she addressed the assembly in Latin, a language which she had studied and spoke fluently, not from pedantry, as ladies elsewhere, but because it is to this day in 1741.

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common use with the Hungarian people, and still serves to convey the national deliberations. Her speech was no cold and formal harangue of a Sovereign, cautiously declaring projects, or haughtily demanding supplies; it was the supplication of a young and beautiful woman in distress. When she came to the words *—"The kingdom "of Hungary, our person, our children, our crown "are at stake! Forsaken by all, we seek shelter "only in the fidelity, the arms, the hereditary "valour of the renowned Hungarian states,"—the whole assembly, as if animated by one soul and speaking with one voice, drew their sabres half-way from the scabbard, and exclaimed, "Our lives and our "blood for your Majesty! We will die for our "King Maria Theresa!"—Nowhere, perhaps, does modern History record a more beautiful and touching scene. According to the narrative of one of the noblemen present, "we all wept, as "did the Queen, aloud, but they were tears of "affection and indignation. In a few minutes "afterwards we withdrew, in order to concert the

* The precise words, as communicated from the Hungarian archives, both to Mr. Coxe and Sir N. Wraxall, are as follows: "Agitur de regno Hungariæ, de personâ nostrâ, prolibus "nostris et coronâ. Ab omnibus derelicti uniee ad inclytorum Statuum fidelitatem, arma, et Hungarorum priscam "virtutem confugimus!" The exclamation of the States in reply was "Vitam et Sanguinem pro Majestate Vestrâ! Moriamur pro Rege nostro, Maria Theresa!"—These words will resound to all posterity.

"necessary measures at such a period of public danger and distress."* CHAP. XXIII.

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It is certainly a great advantage, as all History attests, of female succession, that it tends above all other causes to kindle the extinct or revive the decaying flame of loyalty. The warmest feelings then combine with the most deliberate judgment, and we become Royalists from enthusiasm as much as from reason. Nay even where a contracted understanding fails to discern the superior benefits of Monarchy, the heart unbidden warms towards one whose sex makes it our pride to protect, as her birth our duty to obey her. And never, not even by our own Elizabeth, were a people's loyalty and love more strongly stirred than then by Maria

* The narrative of Count Koller, who was present, was taken down from his repeated relation, and in his very words, by Sir N. Wraxall. (Courts of Berlin and Vienna, vol. ii. p. 296-298. ed. 1799.) "The whole scene," adds the Count, "which has furnished so much matter for history, hardly lasted "more than twelve or fifteen minutes." Archdeacon Coxe discredits the point of the Queen's holding up the infant Archduke to the Diet, because, as he states, it appears from Mr. Robinson's despatches that the Archduke was not brought to Presburg till after the 20th of the month. (House of Austria, vol. iii. p. 266.) Yet we know from other authority that Maria Theresa had taken her son with her from Vienna (Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 520.), and I should be the less inclined to trust Mr. Coxe's dates in this transaction, as he has chosen to transfer the celebrated scene before the Diet from the 11th to the 13th. But on referring to the despatch in question among Mr. Coxe's transcripts (vol. ci. p. 214. Brit. Mus.) it is evident that his copyist has put the word "Archduke," by mistake, for "Grand-"duke" (that is, of Tuscany, and Duke of Lorraine); the son instead of the father. See the Appendix to this volume.

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Theresa. Her attraction was not merely that of form or youth; goodness and benevolence of character shone conspicuous in every period of her life; and even when time and sorrow had deprived her of all pretensions to beauty, she still charmed all those that approached her by her manner and mien, displaying, in most harmonious combination, a motherly kindness, a regal dignity, a female grace.

Nor did the enthusiasm of the Hungarians evaporate in words. The spirit of the Magnates was caught by the vassals; military ardour united with feudal duty; and though with different degrees of power, the energy and exertion were the same in all. From the remotest provinces, from the banks of the Save, the Teiss and the Drave, poured hardy and half-savage bands, whose aspect, nay whose very name was yet unknown to Western Europe—Croats, Pandours, Tolpaches, Sclavonians—with strange dress and arms, barbarous tongues, and unwonted modes of combat, yet able, as was shown by the event, to cope with most disciplined troops. The subsidy of 300,000*l.* which had been transmitted from England proved likewise of no small avail, and an army, formidable both in spirit and in numbers, rapidly grew around the Royal standard.

Vienna meanwhile was no longer in present peril from the Elector of Bavaria and his French allies. Reserving that capital for future prey, and impatient to be crowned King of Bohemia, he had turned aside from his Austrian expedition, and

invested Prague. Its garrison was only 3000 men; its governor, Ogilvy, an Irish exile. To relieve that city became Maria Theresa's first object; the new Hungarian levies, headed by the Duke of Lorraine and his brother Prince Charles, were set in movement early in November, and were joined by the relics of the Silesian army under Neipperg, as well as by a detachment from the garrison of Vienna. Already had they advanced within five leagues of Prague, when they had the mortification to learn, that on the preceding night, the 25th of November, the city had been taken by surprise. They thereupon retired to a secure position behind the marshes of Budweis, while Prague resounded with the festal coronation of the pretended King of Bohemia. From that conquest the Elector hastened to a still prouder scene of triumph, the Diet of Frankfort, where the neutrality of Hanover had left the Duke of Lorraine without a single vote, and where his rival was accordingly chosen and crowned Emperor by the title of Charles the Seventh.* These, however, were but the continued impulse and flow of his preceding fortune; the zeal and valour of

* The coronation at Frankfort was delayed till February 14. 1742. The Margravine of Bareith, who was present, observes: "Le pauvre Empereur ne gouta pas toute la satisfaction que "cette cérémonie devait lui inspirer. Il était mourant de la "goutte et de la gravelle, et pouvait à peine se soutenir ..... "L'Imperatrice est d'une taille au dessous de la petite et si "puissante qu'elle semble une boule; elle est laide au possible "sans air et sans grace." (Mém. de Bareith, vol. ii. p. 342. and 346.)

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the Hungarians wholly turned the tide; and my next view of the affairs of Maria Theresa will display a success not unworthy of her spirit and their's.

In England the Parliament had been prorogued on the 25th of April, and dissolved a few days afterwards. I need not here recapitulate what I have already dwelt upon, the many causes that had combined to heap unpopularity and discredit upon Walpole. Indeed, if truth were always found half way between opposite angry allegations, Sir Robert might be proved a perfect character; for he was denounced at once as profuse and niggardly, timid and presumptuous, a sycophant and a despot, too hasty and too slow! But in reality, the faults of the Minister on some points are quite as undoubted as the injustice of the people on others. The Opposition had also been most unremitting in their exertions throughout the country; and the testimony of a French traveller at this period may possess some interest, as showing what progress had been made in the science of Electioneering: "I am now," says he, at Northampton; "a town "where there are some of the best inns in Eng- "land, but where I am lodged at one of the "worst; this has happened because I fell in with "a Noble Peer who was going, like myself, to "London, and who insisted upon our travelling "together, which I readily agreed to, not knowing "that I should pay so dearly for the honour of his "company. Each party in this nation has its "peculiar inns, which no one can change unless

" he wishes to be called a turn-coat. . . . . Our CHAP.
" dinner consisted of a tough fowl and a liquid XXIII.
" pudding. This was not the worst; it seemed 1741.
" at one moment as if the innkeeper's hatred of
" the Minister would give him the privilege of
" sitting down to table with ourselves. The least
" we could do was, to drink from the same glass
" as he used, to his health and the healths of
" all those at Northampton, that are enemies of
" Sir Robert Walpole (against whom I have not
" the slightest cause of quarrel) and friends of our
" innkeeper (with whom, as you see, I have no
" great reason to be pleased). Nay, more, we had
" patiently to listen to all the arguments of this
" zealous member of the Opposition, for it was not
" the innkeeper that paid court to My Lord, but
" My Lord that paid court to the innkeeper!
" The latter loudly complained that his party in Par-
" liament was far too moderate. 'How shameful!'
" he cried in a passionate tone. 'If I were a Peer
" 'like your Lordship, I would insist that all Mi-
" 'nisters should be expelled from both Houses, and
" 'that the Militia should be disbanded, or else, (here
" 'he added an oath) I would set fire to the city of
" 'London from end to end!' With these words
" he angrily wished us good night. After he was
" gone, 'Sir,' said my Noble Friend, 'you must not
" 'be surprised at all this. That man is of more
" 'importance in the town than you can possibly ima-
" 'gine; his understanding is so much respected by
" 'his neighbours that his vote at an election always

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"'decides theirs, and our party are bound to show him all possible attention.'*" Such details may appear beneath the dignity of History, yet, let us never contemn whatever can best illustrate the temper and manners of the time.†

One of the first elections that ensued at the Dissolution was that of Westminster. The Court had then a paramount influence in this borough; and its candidates were Sir Charles Wager, first Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Sundon, a Lord of the Treasury, and husband of the former favourite of Queen Caroline.* No opposition was at first expected; but Sir Charles having been summoned to convoy His Majesty to Holland, and Lord Sundon being an arrogant upstart, with no merit but his marriage, a party in Westminster set up Admiral Vernon, then in the height of his popularity, and Mr. Edwin, a gentleman of considerable fortune. Still, however, there was a majority in favour of the Ministerial candidates; but some tumult ensuing, Lord Sundon was weakly prevailed upon to order the poll-books to be closed, a party of the Guards to attend, and himself and Sir Charles Wager to be returned by the High Bailiff, while soldiers surrounded the hustings.

* Lettres d'un Français, vol. i. p. 257-259. ed. 1745.

† This question—as to what circumstances should or should not be excluded from history—is argued with some striking examples in *Emile*, livre 4. (vol. i. p. 429. ed. 1821.). The author is as usual most able, and what we seldom find him, I think in the right.

So exasperated were the multitude that the Guards were pelted, and Sundon himself narrowly escaped with his life.

This appearance of military force roused a strong resentment through the country, and is supposed to have turned several elections against the Ministerial candidates. Another powerful lever of the Opposition was a subscription, to which Pulteney, the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, and the Prince of Wales, were lavish contributors; the Prince incurring considerable debts on this occasion. In Cornwall, Lord Falmouth and Mr. Thomas Pitt succeeded in gaining over several of the smaller boroughs from the Government. In Dorsetshire, Weymouth and Melcombe followed the change of Bubb Dodington, who had gone into opposition with the Duke of Argyle, irritated, as it was said, by the refusal of a peerage. Lord Melcombe (such was the title he coveted) would have continued a steady friend, Mr. Bubb became an inexorable enemy! Scotland was made the battle-field of two brothers, the Earl of Isla and the Duke of Argyle; the former as manager for Walpole, the latter as his principal opponent. In this conflict the Duke prevailed; and the Scottish members who had hitherto formed a close phalanx in support of the Government, and had even, as we have seen*, received each ten guineas weekly during the Session, were now, for the most part, ranged on the contrary side. On

* See vol. ii. p. 102.

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the whole the Ministerial majority was so far reduced, that even its favourers could not boast of above sixteen; "and I well know," writes Dodington, "that if we take proper measures, sixteen and nothing is the same thing!"*

To concert these "proper measures" betimes was therefore a main object. Dodington, Lord Limerick, and several others, urged Pulteney to hold a meeting of the principal leaders, and determine the future operations; but Pulteney, who like many other men of quick genius, was always vibrating in his politics between blood-heat and freezing-point, being then at the latter, appeared very indifferent. He said that he saw no use of a meeting nor of concert,—that he would by no means undertake to write to or summon gentlemen,—that he thought a fortnight before the Session would be time enough—that if popular and national points were gone upon, people must follow them without further preparation—that he would meet if he was sent to, but would rather his friends would let him know what was resolved upon, and he would take his post—that he was weary of being at the head of a party, and would rather row in the galleys.† On the other hand, Lord Chesterfield wrote from abroad to point out and direct how the Government could be best assailed. "I am," says he, "for acting at the very beginning of the Ses-

* To the Duke of Argyle, July 3. 1741. Coxe's Walpole.
† Ibid.

"sion. . . . For example, the Court generally pro-
"poses some servile and shameless tool of theirs
"to be chairman of the Committee of Privileges
"and Elections. Why should not we, therefore,
"pick out some Whig of a fair character, and with
"personal connections, to set up in opposition?
"I think we should be pretty strong upon this
"point. But as for opposition to their Speaker, if
"it be Onslow, we shall be but weak; he having,
"by a certain decency of behaviour, made himself
"many personal friends in the minority. . . . An
"Address to the King, desiring him to make no
"peace with Spain unless our undoubted right of
"navigation in the West Indies without molesta-
"tion or search be clearly and in express words
"stipulated, and till we have acquired some va-
"luable possession there as a pledge of the per-
"formance of such stipulation—such a question
"would surely be a popular one, and distressful
"enough to the Ministry." Chesterfield adds, that the decisive battle must be in the House of Commons, since among the Peers the Ministers are too strong to be shaken, and "for such a minority to "struggle with such a majority would be much "like the late King of Sweden's attacking the "Ottoman army at Bender, at the head of his "cook and his butler!" *

This letter was dated from Spa, Lord Chesterfield having gone thither on account of his health,

* Lord Chesterfield to Mr. Dodington, September 8. 1741.

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and the same motive led him in the autumn to the south of France. At Avignon he was for a few days the guest of the Duke of Ormond; and it is positively asserted by his political opponents, that the true object of his journey was to solicit through the Duke an order from the Pretender to the Jacobites, that they should concur hereafter in any measures aimed against Sir Robert Walpole.* The Stuart Papers, which I consulted, have afforded me no light upon this question. It is certain that Lord Chesterfield's illness was both real and severe, it being mentioned as such many years afterwards in his most unguarded correspondence.† But it is far from improbable that the imputed negotiation may also have been a secondary object of his journey. Thus much we know—that the meeting of the new Parliament found Chesterfield restored to vigour, and active at his post, and that in the preceding month letters from James had reached nearly an hundred of his principal adherents, urging them to exertions against the Minister.‡

The other events between the election and the meeting of the Parliament all tended alike to the unpopularity of Walpole and to the downfal of his Government. A general resentment followed the

* See Horace Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 45.

† "I am very glad you begin to feel the good effects of the "climate where you are; I know it saved my life in 1741, when "both the skilful and the unskilful gave me over." To his son, December 9. 1766.

‡ Mr. Etough to Horace Walpole the elder. See Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 687.

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news of the failures at Carthagena and Cuba, and they were readily ascribed to the Minister's partial choice of land officers, or insufficient preparations. Our commerce was also sustaining heavy losses from the war with Spain; and though Walpole had foretold these losses, and had often urged them as a motive for preserving peace, they were now charged to his fault. William Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, writes at this period to the Lord President in Scotland: "The trade has suffered by captures "to a degree that produces daily bankruptcies; and "the merchants, enraged with the smart of their "sufferings, impute most of the losses to neglect, "in not stationing properly a few small ships, which "was often desired to be done."* Another fierce outcry was raised when a Spanish armament of 15,000 men sailed from Barcelona to attack the Austrian dominions in Italy. Where, it was asked, is Admiral Haddock? Has his squadron no better employment at this critical juncture than quietly blockading the Spanish flota at Cadiz? Yet, as Sir Robert observed to one of his sons, if Haddock had on the contrary allowed the flota to sail for the West Indies, in order to prevent the embarkation for Italy, the Tories would have complained as loudly, and said that he had favoured the Spanish trade, under pretence of hindering an expedition that was never really designed.†

* Letter, November 18. 1741. Culloden Papers, p. 170.

† H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, December 3. 1741.

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It appeared however, on more accurate intelligence, that Haddock had in truth made an attempt to intercept the Barcelona expedition, but that it had been joined by a French squadron of twelve ships from Toulon, and that the French Admiral had sent a flag of truce to the English, announcing that he was engaged in the same expedition, and that if the Spaniards were attacked he had orders to defend them. Haddock, unable to cope with double his force, called a Council of War, and in pursuance of its advice retired to Port Mahon, leaving the French and Spanish ships to proceed to their destination. This conduct, though different from the first reports, was not less unsatisfactory to the British nation.*

But most unwelcome of all was the news of the Hanover neutrality. It seemed as if His Majesty wished to cast the whole burthen of the war on his kingdom, and to protect his Electorate without any exertion of its own. Walpole was much concerned at this measure, not only as foreseeing its effect upon the public mind, but as jealous of its having been transacted without his participation and advice. He complained that Lord Harrington had not given timely notice to the Cabinet†,

* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 567. Coxe's House of Bourbon in Spain, vol. iii. p. 321.

† According to Horace Walpole the elder, "Lord Harrington's correspondence (from Hanover) is governed by all the "art and skill of an old courtier. He discovers his master's "desires without explaining them freely and in confidence to

and it was only when he found that the treaty was finally concluded, and could not be recalled, that he gave it a sullen and reluctant acquiescence. CHAP XXIII. 1741.

Such causes then combined to heighten more and more the exasperation that prevailed during the elections. Every day the ferment increased; whether justly or unjustly founded was of little importance to its progress*, and it rose at length to such a pitch that no human power, I am persuaded, could have stayed or warded off its violence. Had not Walpole been overthrown by the House of Commons, he would have been overthrown in spite of and against the House of Commons; had he clung to the steps of the throne for his protection, the throne itself would have been shaken, and perhaps subverted, rather than allow him to retain his hateful power.

Amidst this rising storm of indignation, with colleagues helpless or wavering—Wilmington

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"others here, or giving his own opinion upon them; he pre-
"tends to leave the decision of questions proposed to others
"here, which questions he states in so strong a manner as puts
"them under a dilemma of either disobliging the King or giving
"an opinion they think perhaps not for the interest of their
"country." To Mr. Trevor, August 22. 1741. Life of Lord Walpole of Wolterton.

* An eminent modern republican writes to another:—"You
"know of how little consequence it is to human action whether
"opinions be or be not well founded." Gouverneur Morris to Jefferson, Paris, September 27. 1792.

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hoping to succeed him—Newcastle making secret overtures to Argyle—and Hardwicke always siding with Newcastle—under such adverse circumstances did Sir Robert encounter the meeting of the new Parliament.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

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THE King's Speech (for His Majesty had lately returned from Hanover) was delivered by himself on the 4th of December. Notwithstanding the care and caution with which it had been drawn, it did not fail to excite a vehement discussion in both Houses. In the Upper, Chesterfield reviewed the whole foreign policy of Government, glancing with sarcastic bitterness at the Hanover neutrality *; and he was supported both by Carteret and Argyle, but the original Address was carried by 88 to 43. Amongst the Commons, whose discussion did not take place till four days later, an amendment was proposed by Shippen, seconded by Lord Noel Somerset, that His Majesty might be entreated not

* "Lord Chesterfield made a very fine speech against the "Address, all levelled at the House of Hanover." H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, December 10. 1741. This collection of letters now becomes of great use to history, and (though still with many drawbacks) is far more trustworthy than Walpole's Reminiscences or conversations, fifty years later.

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to engage the kingdom in war for the security of his foreign dominions. They were eager for a division; Pulteney, on the contrary, declared against it, observing with a witticism, that dividing was not the way to multiply.* Sir Robert, on his part, showed most unusual timidity and sense of weakness, and declared that he was willing, for the sake of unanimity, to omit the whole paragraph relative to the war with Spain. Little did this concession avail him:—"Sir," exclaimed Pulteney, "it is no wonder that the Right Honourable Gen-"tleman willingly consents to the omission of this "clause, which could be inserted for no other pur-"pose than that he might sacrifice it to the resent-"ment which it must naturally produce, and by "an appearance of modesty and compliance pass "easily through the first day, and obviate any "severe inquiries that might be designed." He then proceeded, in an able philippic, to urge afresh all the grounds of charge that could be gathered against the Government; and even went so far as to assert that Walpole was influenced by the enemies of the Protestant Establishment. The reply of Sir Robert, says his son, was delivered "with as much "health, as much spirits, as much force and com-"mand as ever†;" he repeated some words used

* Mr. Orlebar to the Rev. H. Etough, December 10. 1741: Coxe's Walpole.

† H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, December 10. 1741. It appears from thence that the account of Coxe is in several respects erroneous. (Memoirs, p. 690.)

by Chesterfield in the other House, that this was "a time for truth, for plain truth, for English truth;" and retorted the charge of enmity to the Protestant Establishment by some hints of the secret mission to the South of France. He said he had been long taxed with all our misfortunes; but did he raise the war in Germany, or advise the war with Spain? Did he kill the late Emperor or King of Prussia? Did he counsel the present King of Prussia, or was he first minister to the King of Poland? Did he kindle the war between Muscovy and Sweden? For our troubles at home, he declared all the grievances of the nation were owing to the Patriots. He added, that far from wishing to evade a more strict and less general inquiry, if the gentleman who had thus publicly and confidently arraigned his conduct would name a day for inquiring into the state of the nation he would second the motion. This challenge was accepted; Pulteney named the 21st of January next, and was seconded by Walpole, while the Address, omitting the clause on the Spanish war, was passed unanimously. CHAP. XXIV. 1741.

In the tactics of the Opposition at this period it seems that Chesterfield's advice from Spa had been adopted. They allowed Onslow to be placed in the Chair without resistance; but when it came to the election of Chairman of Committees, they brought forward Dr. Lee, a gentleman much respected by all parties. The Ministerial candidate for that office was Giles Earle, a former dependent

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of the Duke of Argyle, who had forsaken his patron, and made many other enemies by his caustic wit. On the 16th of December, after great preparations on both sides, the Opposition prevailed by four votes, the numbers being 242 and 238. "You have no idea of their huzza," writes Horace Walpole the younger, "unless you can conceive "how people must triumph after defeats of twenty "years together. . . . They say Sir Robert miscal- "culated: how should he calculate, when there "are men like Charles Ross, and fifty others he "could name?"*—this Mr. Ross, and some others, having unexpectedly voted against him, in spite of considerable former obligations. But even admitting that Walpole may have been thus deceived, he may yet be justly blamed for his imprudence and want of foresight in urging a most unwelcome candidate at a most critical juncture. Where any principle was involved, it was his duty at all hazards to stand firm; where only personal considerations were at stake, it would have been policy to yield.

On another question—a motion for papers on the German negotiations, Walpole was less unsuccessful, carrying that point against Pulteney by a majority of ten. But the ground for frequent and almost nightly battles was afforded by the Election Petitions. At that period the merits of each petition, instead of being referred to a Select

* To Sir H. Mann, December 16. 1741.

Committee, and guarded by the imposition of an oath, were tried in the House by the votes of all the members present, and were almost always decided by considerations of party, instead of justice. Before the opening of the Session the Minister had been heard to declare that there must be no quarter given in Election petitions*; and to one of his friends, who felt some scruple as to the Heydon case, he drily said, "You must take Walpole or Pulteney."† On the very day after discussing the King's Speech, he prevailed in the Bossiney petition by only seven votes. His son exclaims, "One or two such victories, as Pyrrhus the Mem-"ber for Macedon said, will be the ruin of us!" But even this narrow majority forsook Walpole on the great Westminster petition which followed. The evidence given at the Bar clearly proved the interference of the soldiery, and was enforced by the petitioner's Counsel, William Murray, with a brilliant eloquence then for the first time manifested, and winning the applause even of his political opponents.‡ On a division, this election was declared void by a majority of four, and a further vote for censuring the High Bailiff passed by a majority of two. One of this anti-ministerial phalanx was Lord Doneraile, an Irish Peer brought into Parliament by the Court, who had a petition

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* Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 691.

† H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, December 3. 1741.

‡ "Murray spoke divinely; beyond what was ever heard at "the Bar." H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, December 24. 1741.

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pending against his own return, and who had engaged to the opposite party that if they would

1741. withdraw their petition he would vote with them in the Westminster proceedings. So severely did his friends reproach him for his baseness, that he went to Pulteney to recall his offer; but Pulteney told him that his word of honour had passed, and that he would not release him. It was the vote of this conscientious nobleman that turned the scale in the High Bailiff's censure;—such were then the dirty underplots of public life! The Justices who had sent for the soldiers had a day appointed for being reprimanded on their knees by the Speaker.

The triumph of the Opposition on the Westminster Petition was not confined to the House; a new election ensuing, no Court candidates ventured to appear at the hustings, and two "patriots," Lord Perceval and Mr. Edwin, were chosen by acclamation.

1742. The Houses having adjourned for the Christmas holidays, and an interval for leisure being thus afforded, many personal friends of Sir Robert earnestly pressed him to resign. They represented to him that his health was broken; that the serenity of temper and indifference to invectives for which he had ever been distinguished, were now much impaired; that he had become irritable and fretful in debate, to his own pain, and to the lessening of his dignity and reputation; that his age seemed to allow, nay to call for, a well-earned repose; that the torrent against him was too power-

ful to stem; that he could no longer either prevent or punish the treachery of his colleagues; that it was better to lay down the seals of office than find them wrested from his hands; that his enemies, who might now be satisfied with his resignation, a few weeks later would call for his blood. But though health, strength, popularity, friends, success, had forsaken Sir Robert Walpole, ambition had not. Still did he cling to that darling power, his own for twenty years, which because he would never share he could not always retain. Still did he plan new expedients of Court craft, or Ministerial patronage. Retaining his influence with the King, he prevailed upon His Majesty, though not without the greatest difficulty, that an offer should be made to the Prince of Wales of an addition of 50,000*l.* to his yearly income, and of the future payment of his debts, provided His Royal Highness would desist from opposition to the measures of the Government. This message was conveyed through Secker, Bishop of Oxford. It is strange how the falling Minister could so far delude himself as to expect any favourable result from such an overture at such a moment, or imagine that his weakness would pass for moderation. The answer of the Prince, after many expressions of respect and duty to the King, declared that he would never hearken to any proposals so long as Walpole continued in power.*

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* Edward Walpole (second son of Sir Robert) to the Duke of Devonshire, January 9. 1742.

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The period of the adjournment was as actively and more successfully employed by Walpole's enemies, in gaining over his adherents, extending their solicitations even into his Cabinet. A letter was addressed by Dodington to Lord Wilmington, urging him to use his influence with the King for the dismissal of Sir Robert.* Newcastle's brain was, as usual, teeming with perfidious machinations. Hervey, the Lord Privy Seal, pretending illness, kept aloof from his chief; according to Horace Walpole, "he lives shut up with my Lord Chester-"field and Mr. Pulteney—a triumvirate who hate "one another more than any body they could pro-"scribe, had they the power."†

It was amidst this turmoil of conflicting intrigues that Parliament met again on the 18th of January. Next day the Opposition, without a division, carried Hume Campbell, brother of Lord Marchmont, as member for Berwickshire.‡ On the 21st ensued the long expected motion of Pulteney, for referring to a Secret Committee the papers which had been laid before the House relating to the war. Pulteney himself made two speeches, elaborate, powerful, and bitter; and on the same side Pitt spoke with equal ability and acrimony. Among the defenders

* See this letter in Coxe's Walpole, vol. iii. p. 588.

† To Sir H. Mann, January 7. 1742.

‡ "Sandys, who loves persecution even unto the death, "moved to punish the sheriff (of Berwick), and as we dared not "divide, they ordered him into custody, where by this time I "suppose Sandys has eaten him." H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, January 22. 1742.

of the Minister, Sir William Yonge, Winnington, and Pelham were much and deservedly admired. In his opening speech, Pulteney protested that the motion was not pointed against any particular person, but merely intended to assist His Majesty with advice, and on this footing the debate was fought, till Lord Perceval, the new Member for Westminster, blundered out the real truth, declaring that he should vote for the motion as a Committee of Accusation. Sir Robert, perceiving his advantage, immediately rose, and observed that he must now take the question to himself. He inveighed against the malice of the Opposition, who for twenty years had not been able to touch him, and were now reduced to a disgraceful subterfuge; he defied them to the charge, and desired no favour but to be made acquainted with the articles of accusation. He alluded to Dodington, who had called his administration infamous, as a person of great self-mortification, who for sixteen years had condescended to bear part of the infamy. As to Pulteney, we are told that "Sir Robert actually "dissected him, and laid his heart open to the view "of the House."* In short, his harangue, of which no further record now remains, was even by his enemies acknowledged as a masterpiece of eloquence, and surprised even some of his friends by

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* Sir Robert Wilmot to the Duke of Devonshire, January 23. 1742.

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unwonted readiness in all the foreign affairs.* For the division there had been on both sides most strenuous efforts, or as at present we should term it, "whipping in;" there were brought down, the halt, the lame, the blind,—"the lame on our side and "the blind on yours," said General Churchill. But three of the Ministerial sick, who had been kept waiting in an adjoining apartment which belonged to Sir Robert's eldest son, Lord Walpole, as Auditor of the Exchequer, found when they hastened to the House on the question being put, that the Opposition had been beforehand with them, and that the lock of the door was filled with sand and dirt so that it could not be opened. Among the patriots, Sir William Gordon, most dangerously ill, was dragged from his bed and carried to the House, seeming rather like a corpse, wrapped in its cerements, than like a living man. His son, a Captain in the Navy, had lately been lost at sea, and the news had been concealed from Sir William that he might not absent himself. But when he ap-

* When the debate was over, Pulteney, who as usual sat near Walpole on the Treasury Bench, said to him that he had never heard so fine a debate on his side, and added: "Well, nobody "can do what you can!" "Yes," replied Sir Robert, "Yonge "did better." Pulteney rejoined, "It was fine, but not of that "weight with which you spoke." (H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, January 22. 1742.) It is from this letter and Sir Robert Wilmot's that we must glean the only hints remaining of Walpole's speech; the meagre reports of the time judiciously omit it altogether, though giving Lord Perceval's pompous oration at full length! (Parl. Hist. vol. xii. p. 370.)

peared in the House, a Ministerial member, his friend (there is never any lack of such friends) went up and informed him of his unknown disaster. The old man bore it with great magnanimity, saying that he knew why he was told of it at that moment, but that when he thought his country in danger he would not quit his post. CHAP. XXIV. 1742.

By such exertions the House was fuller than had been known for many years: including the Speaker and Tellers, there were 508 members present, and Pulteney's motion was rejected by a majority of only three; a result, though not of victory, yet of joy and triumph to the Opposition.

The next, and, as it proved, the decisive struggle, was upon the Chippenham election petition. A point arising from it being mooted on the 28th of January, it appeared that the Opposition had so far gained in numbers since the last division as to prevail against the Minister by a majority of one. Walpole, with an undaunted spirit, was still for maintaining office in the very face of a hostile House of Commons; but his brother, his three sons, and all his trustiest friends, now combined in most earnestly urging him to resignation. Still they would probably not have prevailed had not the same cry resounded from his own official colleagues. It is stated by himself, in a letter to the Duke of Devonshire, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, "I "must inform you that the panic was so great "among — what shall I call them? — my own "friends, that they all declared that my retiring

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"was become absolutely necessary, as the only "means to carry on the public business." * In truth, it does not appear that any one person of weight gave him the slightest encouragement to continue at the helm, unless it were the King, reluctant to lose a faithful and experienced servant, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who went to see him at this period, and said as he took his leave, "Sir, I have been lately reading Thuanus: "he mentions a minister who, having long been "persecuted by his enemies, at length vanquished "them. The reason he gives, QUIA SE NON DE-"SERUIT."†

Moved, though with extreme reluctance, by the all but unanimous opinion of his friends, and yielding to mutiny and panic in his own camp rather than to the force of the hostile phalanx, Sir Robert, on the night of Sunday the 31st of January, formed the final resolution to resign. When next morning at a private audience he stated the necessity of the case to the King, he must have been gratified and yet moved at His Majesty's regret. As he knelt to kiss hands, the King fell on his neck, wept, and kissed him; and requested to see him frequently. On the following day, when the final decision on the Chippenham election was impending, Walpole thought it his duty to send a private intimation to the Prince of Wales of his intended retirement

* Letter, February 2. 1742. Coxe's Walpole.

† H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, January 22. 1742.

The circulation and effect of such a rumour were very perceptible in the division that evening; the majority against the Minister being swelled from one to sixteen. Expecting this event, Walpole bore it with fortitude and cheerfulness. As the Tellers began their office, he beckoned to Mr. Baynton Rolt, the member whose return was questioned by a Ministerial petition, to sit near him, and entered freely into conversation, animadverting on the ingratitude of several persons whom he had greatly obliged, and who were now voting against him, and declaring that he should never sit again in that House. CHAP. XXIV. 1742.

Next morning, the 3d of February, the Lord Chancellor conveyed the King's desire that the Houses should adjourn for a fortnight. Some days later, Sir Robert Walpole resigned all his places, and was created Earl of Orford.

Thus, then, ended Sir Robert Walpole's long and renowned administration. Having traced it from its commencement to its close, I have already, as occasion offered, pointed out what seemed to me its merits, or what I thought its errors; and I need not here enter into a full recapitulation of either. If we compare him to his next successors, their unsteadiness and perplexity, the want of principle in some, and the inferiority of talent in others, will be found to throw by contrast a reflected light on his twenty years of government. If we draw a parallel between him and the preceding Prime Minister, Lord Stanhope, we shall probably pronounce

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Walpole the superior in knowledge of finance, in oratorical abilities, in management of the House of Commons. On the other hand, it may be thought that Stanhope's was the higher skill in all foreign affairs. Another marked distinction between them appears in the readiness of Stanhope to introduce measures, as he thought, of practical improvement; while Walpole, on the contrary, strove to leave, as nearly as possible, all things as he found them. When Stanhope died, at the age of only forty-seven, he had in preparation five great measures. The first, for the relief of the Roman Catholics, the details of which are not precisely recorded, but extending, as I think it reasonable to conjecture, even to their admission into parliament. The second, for the relief of the Protestant Dissenters by the abrogation of the Test Act. The third, for the security of officers in the army, and the lessening of their dependence on the Government, by taking from the Crown the power of dismissal, except under the sentence of a Court Martial.* The fourth, for the limitation of the prerogative in the future creations of Peers. The fifth, not legislative, but administrative, for extending the popularity of the reigning family, widening the basis of the Government, and gradually gaining over the party in Opposition by employing several of its more moderate members. Every one of these measures was dropped by Wal-

* See on this subject in the Parliamentary History the speeches of Pulteney, February 13. 1734, and of Lord Chesterfield the same day in the other House.

pole on succeeding to power. It may be maintained in his justification, that all these measures were mischievous; one of them, at least, the Peerage bill, undoubtedly was so. But it will be found, that the same indifference or aversion of Walpole to any change, extended even to cases where the change was certainly and clearly beneficial. Thus, for example, in December 1718, Stanhope had moved for and appointed a Lords' Committee on the state of the public records; and its report, made after some months' inquiry, details the want of arrangement, classification, nay, even of proper house-room for the various national documents, and recommends that some of them, at least, may be digested into order—that such of the loose papers as appear to be of value, may be bound up for their better preservation—that catalogues and indexes of them may be prepared without delay—that better apartments may be provided for their custody.* Here, then, what defence can be framed for Walpole in discarding these recommendations? Was not the evil real and undoubted, the remedy plain and easy, and have we not even in the present times seen reason for lamenting its neglect? And are we not justified in saying, from this and other such examples, that Walpole's dislike to innovation prevailed, even where the innovation was most evidently an improvement?

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The character of Walpole might also, as I con-

* This Report is printed in the Lords' Journals, April 16. 1719.

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ceive, be unfavourably contrasted with Stanhope's, in point of disinterestedness and political purity. I am very far—this must have been perceived in many former passages—from adopting the party suspicions and rancorous charges of corruption to which in his life-time Sir Robert stood exposed. I believe, on the contrary, that of such charges great part was falsehood, great part exaggeration. But still, looking only to proved and certain facts, and to the statements of his own partisans and panegyrists, we shall even on such testimony find cause to think that Walpole sometimes swerved from the straight path, and altogether lowered the tone of public morals. Thus, for instance, both he and Stanhope were in office together when the South Sea speculations reached their height. Stanhope thought it his duty to refrain altogether from any such source of profit. Walpole, on the contrary, plunged eagerly into the whirl, turned his own sagacity to good account, sold his shares of 100*l.* for 1000*l.*; allowed his wife to gamble for herself, and gained a considerable fortune. The same absence—I do not mean of integrity, but of any nice scruples, prevailed, I fear, during his subsequent administration. If it be needful any further to exemplify my assertion, I will take the very words of his own affectionate and admiring son. In a letter, several years afterwards, Horace Walpole is inveighing against Keene, Bishop of Chester: "My "father," he adds, "gave him a living of 700*l.* a "year to marry one of his natural daughters; he

"took the living, and my father dying soon after, "he dispensed with himself from taking the wife, "but was so generous as to give her very near one "year's income of the living."* I do not now inquire whether this accusation of Keene may not be unduly heightened. But I ask, could there be any stronger proof of a low tone of public morals than that Sir Robert should employ Crown livings as portions for his illegitimate daughters, and that his son should tell the story as bearing hard upon the Bishop, but without the slightest idea that it was also most discreditable to the Minister?

It is possible indeed that a feeling of partiality may blind me, but I will own that I cannot discern in any part of Walpole's career a parallel to the disinterestedness of Stanhope in Spain, when offered by the Archduke an estate and title for his services, but refusing them, and adding that if any gratitude to him were felt, he hoped it might be shown in a readiness to conclude the Treaty of Commerce, which he was then negotiating.† How far less lofty was the course of Walpole on his resignation! Instead of withdrawing with a noble pride, asking nothing and accepting nothing, as one conscious of great services and resentful of popular ingratitude, he obtained the title of Earl of Orford, a further pension of 4,000*l.* a year‡, and a patent of rank for

* To Sir H. Mann, December 11. 1752.

† War of the Succession, p. 177.

‡ The sinecures and places for life held by Walpole's three sons at this very time are enumerated by Coxe (Memoirs,

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his daughter by the mistress whom he had afterwards married. Was it wise for his own reputation to grasp immediate rewards for his services, and leave posterity no part of the debt to pay? Was it just to solicit such signal marks of Royal favour at the very moment when overwhelmed by national resentment, and thus to involve the Crown in his own unpopularity? So fierce was the outcry against these favours to the fallen Minister* that Sir Robert was induced to relinquish the pension, which however he again sued for and received two years afterwards. He would, also, probably have cancelled Lady Mary's patent had it not been too late. A letter at this period, from one of his friends, strongly manifests the imprudence of these grants, but at the same time displays his high and unconquerable courage in adversity. Lord Morton writes to Duncan Forbes, President of the Scottish Court of Session: "I cannot finish without a word about our honest "friend Sir Robert Walpole, for whom, I own, I "am in some fear. He this day went to Rich-"mond, never again to return to Court. The

p. 730.), and their yearly income amounts to 14,900*l.*, besides the Rangership of Richmond Park, which was held by Sir Robert and one of his sons jointly, with benefit of survivorship, and which produced several thousands more *per annum*.

* It had for many years been an Opposition taunt, that Sir Robert held in reserve a patent for some high title, to be taken out whenever he retired. Swift writes in 1731:

"E'en quit the House, for thou too long hast sat in't,
"Produce at last thy dormant Ducal patent."

See Swift's Works, vol. x. p. 530. Scott's ed.

"letter of rank for his daughter has raised such a "torrent of wrath against him, that God knows "where it may end. They now talk of a strict "Parliamentary inquiry; your Lordship knows "how little any man can stand such an ordeal after "twenty years' administration. The last time I "saw him, which was on Sunday evening, I told "him of the clamour that was raised upon the "subject of his daughter, but the thing was then "passed the offices, and could not be recalled, "though she had not been presented, else I believe "he would have stopped it. I would fain hope, "after he is fairly away, that the fury may subside; "at present it is very violent. Last week there "passed a scene between him and me, by ourselves, "which affected me more than any thing I ever "met with in my life, but it is too long to trouble "your Lordship with. He has been sore hurt by "flatterers, but has a great and undaunted spirit, "and a tranquillity something more than human."*

Before his departure for Richmond, Walpole had a considerable share in the choice of his successor. He was desirous to sow dissension in the ranks of his opponents, to continue the administration on the Whig basis, and in case Pulteney should decline to be First Lord of the Treasury to appoint Lord Wilmington. Such were his objects; his means were influence over his Royal master. In the same audience of the 1st of February, when he announced

* Letter of February 11. 1742. Culloden Papers, p. 175.

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his own retirement, he prevailed over the King's aversion to Pulteney, and induced His Majesty to send him an immediate message, offering him full power, provided only he would screen Sir Robert from prosecution. This condition, suggested by Walpole at that crisis, is surely no proof of a generous and lofty mind. Am I wrong in believing that at such a juncture Clarendon or Chatham would have thought only of their country's, or, at the worst, of their party's benefit, and disdained to seek any safeguard for themselves, except from their own virtue and renown?

The communication to Pulteney was intrusted to the Duke of Newcastle, who accepted it with peculiar pleasure. He had already some days before, though, as it seems, only on his own account, privately sent to Pulteney, requesting to have a secret meeting with him at the house of the Duke's Secretary Mr. Stone. Pulteney had answered, that at the present juncture he could not comply with the request for a secret meeting, lest he should give umbrage to his friends, but had no objection to receive His Grace publicly at his own house. This not suiting Newcastle's underhand designs, the communication dropped. But the Duke, having now the Royal authority, no longer affected mystery, and wrote to Pulteney, stating that he and the Lord Chancellor had a message to him from the King, and were therefore about to wait upon him.

A meeting accordingly ensued that same morning between Newcastle and Hardwicke on one side,

and on the other Pulteney, attended by Carteret as his confidential friend. The Duke opened the conference by saying that the King, convinced that Sir Robert Walpole was no longer supported by a majority in the House of Commons, had commanded them to offer the places held by that Minister to Mr. Pulteney, with the power of forming his own administration, on the sole condition that Sir Robert Walpole should not be prosecuted. To this Pulteney replied, that if that condition was to be made the foundation of a treaty, he never would comply with it; "and even," said he, "should my inclination induce me to accept it, "yet it might not be in my power to fulfil my "engagement, for the heads of parties are like the "heads of snakes, carried on by their tails. For "my part I will be no screen; but if the King "should be pleased to express a desire to open any "treaty or to hold any conversation with me, I will "pay my duty at St. James's, though I have not "been at Court for many years; but I will not "go privately, but publicly and at noonday, in "order to prevent all jealousy and suspicion."*

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This result being communicated to the King, His Majesty, without delay, and following the advice of Walpole, sent Pulteney another private message

* Life of Bishop Newton. At the close of this interview some refreshments being brought in, Newcastle drank, "Here "is to our happier meeting."—Pulteney replied by Shakespeare's lines:

"If we do meet again, why we shall smile,
"If not, why then this meeting was well made."

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(it does not appear through whose hands), to request that if Pulteney did not choose to place himself at the head of the Treasury, he would let Lord Wilmington slide into it. Pulteney acquiesced in this alternative. His friend Carteret, who coveted that office, expressed some dissatisfaction; but Pulteney declared that if the other would not consent to Wilmington's appointment he would break his own resolution, and take the place himself. "You," he added, "must be Secretary of State, as "the fittest person to direct foreign affairs." Thus then Sir Robert Walpole, writing to the Duke of Devonshire on the 2d of February, the day of the final division on the Chippenham case, was already enabled to announce Lord Wilmington as his successor at the Treasury.*

A few days afterwards the King despatched another embassy to Pulteney, consisting, as before, of the Chancellor and Duke of Newcastle; but they do not seem to have been made acquainted with the intermediate message. Newcastle declared that he was now commissioned by the King to repeat the former offers, without urging the condi-

* The details of these negotiations with Pulteney were communicated by himself to Bishops Newton and Douglas. (See Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. Pref. p. xxx. & p. 702.) Neither the Bishops nor the Archdeacon attempt to fix the date, but it may be ascertained by observing that Walpole did not decide on resigning till the night of January 31.—that it was only on the following morning that he overcame the King's repugnance to apply to Pulteney—and that on the day after, February 2., he could already announce the name of his successor.

tion of not prosecuting the fallen Minister; and his Majesty only requested, that if any prosecution was commenced against Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pulteney, if he did not choose to oppose it, would at least do nothing to inflame it. Pulteney answered, that he was not a man of blood, and that in all his expressions of pursuing the Minister to destruction, he had meant only the destruction of his power, but not of his person. He could not undertake to say what was proper to be done; he must take the advice of his friends; though he was free to own, that according to his opinion, some Parliamentary censure, at least, ought to be inflicted for so many years of mal-administration. Newcastle then observed, "The King trusts you will not distress the "Government by making too many changes in the "midst of a session." The reply of Pulteney was, that he did not insist on a total change, and had no objection to the Lord Chancellor or the Duke of Newcastle, but that he demanded an alteration of measures as well as men. He required that some obnoxious persons should be dismissed, and the main forts of Government delivered into the hands of his party; namely, a majority in the Cabinet Council, the nomination of the Boards of Treasury and Admiralty, and, of an office to be again restored, a Secretary of State for Scotland. These points being agreed to, though not without some demur, Newcastle said he supposed that Mr. Pulteney would place himself at the head of the Treasury, which, he added, was the earnest and repeated de-

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sire of the King. "As the disposition of places is "in my hands," said Pulteney, "I will accept none "myself: I have so repeatedly declared my reso- "lution on that point, that I will not now contra- "dict myself." He then named the Earl of Wilmington First Lord of the Treasury, and Samuel Sandys Chancellor of the Exchequer, Carteret Secretary of State, and the Marquis of Tweeddale the new Secretary for Scotland; while for himself he required a Peerage and a seat in the Cabinet.

Concurrently with this negotiation, overtures were made from the Court to the Prince of Wales. His Royal Highness was gratified by an addition of 50,000*l.* to his yearly income, and by the promise that two of his adherents, Lord Baltimore and Lord Archibald Hamilton, should be included in the new Board of Admiralty. On the 6th he granted a private audience to Sir Robert Walpole, and assured him of his protection in case of attack —a promise from which he afterwards receded.

Meanwhile the rumours of the late negotiations, and of the intended appointments, raised a great ferment in the ranks of Opposition. The Tories, though forming the larger share of the anti-ministerial phalanx, found themselves as yet utterly excluded. Among the "patriots" many wished to be employed, and all to be consulted. Nay more, as always happens in such cases, several persons, exasperated at the want of concert, murmured against the very course which they themselves would have advised, had they been applied to.

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Under these circumstances, the chiefs of Opposition, not in the new arrangement, summoned a meeting of the whole party, to be held on the 11th of February (the very day of Sir Robert's official resignation), at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand. This meeting was attended by nearly three hundred, both Peers and Commoners. Carteret refused to go, only saying that he never dined at a tavern *; but there appeared Pulteney, and the new Chancellor of the Exchequer. A general suspicion was expressed by the persons present that the change would not be complete, and that the old system was still to be continued. Lord Talbot, son of the late Chancellor, and a man of considerable talents, filling a glass of wine, drank to cleansing the Augean stable of the dung and grooms.† But the principal opponent of Pulteney at this meeting was the Duke of Argyle, who now, by a change that would have been surprising in any other person, stood forth as the leader more especially of the Jacobites in Parliament. He made a long and solemn speech. After observing, in sarcastic allusion to Pulteney, that a grain of honesty was worth a cart-load of gold, he proceeded—"Have we not too much reason to fear that good use will not be made of the present happy opportunity, and that a few men, without any communication of their proceedings to this assembly, have arrogated to themselves the exclusive right of nomination? They have

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, February 18. 1742.
† Bishop Secker's Diary, February 12. 1742.

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"now been eight days engaged in this business, "and if we are to judge from the few offices they "have already bestowed, may justly be accused of "not acting with that vigour which the whole "people have a right to expect. The choice of "those already preferred having fallen upon the "Whigs, is an ill omen to the Tories. If these are "not to be provided for, the happy effects of the "coalition will be destroyed, and the odious dis-"tinction of party be revived. It is therefore "highly necessary to continue closely united, and "to persevere with the same vehemence as ever, "till the Tories obtain justice, and the administra-"tion is founded upon the broad bottom* of both "parties."

Pulteney, whose strength lay in eloquence, and who always spoke far more ably than he acted, replied with great spirit and effect. He complained that he and his colleagues should be thus held forth and publicly arraigned with things of which no man durst venture to accuse them in private. "We deserve," added he, "very different "usage for the integrity with which we have "hitherto proceeded, and with which we are deter-"mined to proceed. Overtures having been made "to us, it was our duty (as it would have been the

* This was the favourite phrase of the day. H. Walpole writes to Sir H. Mann, February 18. 1742: "One now hears of "nothing but the *broad bottom*; it is the reigning cant word, "and means the taking all parties and people indifferently into "the Ministry."

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"duty of every man to whom such overtures had "been made,) to employ all our abilities and "endeavours to form a happy settlement. So much "for the imputation that we have taken the man-"agement of the negotiation into our hands!" He proceeded to argue, that as to the referring of the settlement to the whole party, it was an idea fit only for the "superficial vulgar,"—that there was neither justice nor prudence in attempting to dictate to the King—that it would have been more to the credit of the party if their patience had extended a little longer than the few days which had elapsed; that as to the appointments of Tories, it must be a work of some time "to remove suspicions incul-"cated long, and long credited, with regard to a "denomination of men, who have formerly been "thought not heartily attached to the reigning "family." Still, he added, some instances of friendly intentions to the Tories had already been given in the late removals, and there would be many more; but it must depend upon the prudent conduct of the Tories themselves.*

Sandys also harangued, saying, the King had done him the honour to offer him a place, and why should he not accept it? If he had not, another would; if nobody would, the King would be obliged to employ his old Minister again, which he

* The account of this speech and of Argyle's is given in "Faction Detected," a pamphlet of great note, written by Lord Perceval, who was present at the meeting.

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imagined the gentlemen present would not wish to see.

The gentlemen present were somewhat appeased by these explanations, and separated in better humour than they had met. But what seems to have principally weighed with them was, that each remembered how many offices were still vacant, and hoped that some were reserved for himself or for his friends.

A few days afterwards a conference between the late Opposition leaders was held at the desire and in the presence of the Prince of Wales. On the one side were Argyle, Chesterfield, Cobham, Gower, and Bathurst; on the other came Pulteney accompanied by Lord Scarborough*, the Prince's Treasurer. It does not appear that any arrangement was concluded at this conference, yet undoubtedly it tended, like the larger meeting, to allay dissatisfaction. A wise statesman should always give offended partisans an opportunity to pour forth their grievances; their mind seems relieved by the effusion, or their resentment exhausted by its own violence, and when once they

* This Earl of Scarborough was not the same who had been the early confident and friend of George the Second. That nobleman had been always subject to fits of melancholy, and in one of them, in 1740, had unhappily blown out his brains. The post of Secretary of State had been several times offered to him, but always refused. "He was," says Lord Chesterfield, "the best man I ever knew, and the dearest friend I ever "had." (Characters.)

have stated their complaints as fully and as bitterly as they desire, they often begin to feel that they have in truth little or nothing to complain of.

The principal demand by the Duke of Argyle was an appointment for Sir John Hinde Cotton, who, as I have elsewhere noticed, was perhaps the most active, and next to Shippen the most avowed, Jacobite in Parliament. That Argyle should now so warmly espouse his interests, and so closely link his cause with his own, seems a strong presumption that the Duke at this period was acting in concert with, or at least in favour of, the exiled family.* He received at length a reluctant assurance, that Cotton should be included in the new Board of Admiralty, and thereupon he condescended to accept for himself a seat in the Cabinet, the Mastership of the Ordnance, and the Regiment of which he had been lately dispossessed. Lord Cobham in like manner was made a Field Marshal, and restored to the command of the Grenadier Guards, which he had lost in 1733 for his opposition to the Excise Bill. Lord Harrington, having resigned the Seals in favour of Carteret, was created an Earl, and appointed to the Presidency of the Council, vacant by Wilmington's promotion. Sir William Yonge was allowed to continue Secretary at War, and Mr. Pelham, Paymaster of the Forces. Thus then the

* This, it appears, was the decided opinion of Walpole. See, in Coxe's Pelham, his confidential letter of October 20. 1743, after Argyle's death.

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new administration being completed, except the Board of Admiralty, which, as so many promotions had been referred to it, was itself referred for further consideration, the whole party, headed by the Prince of Wales, went to pay their respect at Court, on the 18th of February, the day when Parliament met*, and on the same evening, the new writs were moved in the House of Commons.

For a little time the Government business glided on with smoothness and despatch, interrupted only by occasional harangues from Shippen and Sir Watkin Wynn, whose animosity was not at all abated by the changes. Though very many others were dissatisfied, they stood at gaze, and would not yet openly oppose. But when the new Board of Admiralty was at length announced, there appeared at the head of it the Whig Earl of Winchelsea (as Lord Finch, the friend and defender of Steele), and among its members the Prince's dependents, Lords Baltimore and Archibald Hamilton, but no Sir John Hinde Cotton. The King, it seems, had put a positive negative upon that gentleman, declaring that he was determined to stand by those who had set him and his family upon the throne. At this disappointment the whole Tory party raised a loud yell of indignation. Argyle, as their present chief in the House of Lords, displayed the utmost resent-

* The King's reception of his son was very cold and formal. "His Majesty said, 'How does the Princess do? I hope "'is well.' The Prince kissed his hand, and this was all." H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, February 18. 1742.

ment; he had besides, as he conceived, other grounds of his own to complain; he had set no bounds to his pretensions; he had expected to engross the whole government of Scotland, and was irritated that the Marquis of Tweeddale, the Secretary of State, should, as such, possess any degree of authority. With these feelings, he, on the 9th of March, resigned all his new appointments, and relapsed into angry Opposition. The Prince of Wales, also, ere long began to discover, that though his friends were in place he was very far from power, and he showed first coldness and then aversion to the Government. Thus the elements of a new Opposition speedily gathered and grew. Several of the placemen, moreover, whose writs had been moved, found themselves no longer supported by their former patrons—especially the Dukes of Bridgwater and Bedford; and Lord Limerick, who had been intended for Secretary at War, but who was member for Tavistock, durst not vacate his seat for that ducal borough.

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In this arrangement it may justly excite surprise, that no offers were made either to Chesterfield or Pitt. It is certain that the former had excited the resentment of the King, by his bitter invectives against the Hanover neutrality, and probable that Carteret may have feared to place a rival in the Council. Chesterfield himself declares in a letter at that period:—"The public has assigned me different employments; "but I have been offered none, I have asked for none, "and I will accept of none, till I see a little clearer

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"into matters than I do at present. I have opposed "measures, not men, and the change of two or "three men only is not a sufficient pledge to me "that measures will be changed, nay, rather an "indication that they will not; and I am sure no "employment whatsoever shall prevail with me to "support measures I have so justly opposed. A "good conscience is, in my mind, a better thing "than the best employment, and I will not have "the latter till I can keep it with the former."* With respect to Pitt, we may suppose, with great likelihood, that both he and Lyttleton were passed over as members of the Prince's household; his Royal Highness having applied in the first instance for Lords Baltimore and Archibald Hamilton, and these appointments being considered as sufficient for that quarter.

In reviewing the conduct of Pulteney at this memorable period, he appears equally conspicuous for good fortune and ill judgment. He was placed on an eminence as lofty and commanding as ever British statesman attained; the dispenser of all public honours; the arbiter between the Crown and the people. He saw humbled before him and imploring his forbearance that Monarch, who ten years back had struck his name from the list of the Privy Council, and denied him his Commission as a Justice of the Peace. He saw the assembled Commons, till then the supporters and

* See Maty's Life, p. 195.

satellites of Walpole, overthrow his haughty rival and hail him their triumphant leader. Above all, he beheld that nation to which his eloquent voice had so long appealed in vain, now stirred by that voice as by an oracle, and raising their own in its support. How vast but how giddy a height! How very great appears the occasion—how very unequal the man! At such a crisis, instead of fixing his eyes on high public principles and objects, he looked only to his own show of consistency, to his previous declarations against receiving public money, or being ambitious of public office. He shrunk at provoking some taunt from Shippen, some lampoon from Hanbury Williams! Ought such trifles as these to have weighed in the balance with his country's service, if his country really was in danger? And if his country was not in danger, what pretence had he for having roused it almost to frenzy by his declamations against corruption and misgovernment? The truth is, that to think of personal reputation instead of the national welfare is rank selfishness, differing only in kind and degree from that which clings with tenacity to posts of profit. Let every statesman be assured that if he will but take care of his country, his reputation will take care of itself. Posterity is not deceived. A true patriot will be acknowledged and revered, whether in Opposition or in Downing Street; while he who grasps at office, for the sake of sordid gains, or he who declines it from the dread of libellous attacks, will be classed alike in a far lower and less honoured scale.

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But even admitting that Pulteney was defensible in his own refusal, with what justice could he yield the Treasury to Wilmington, a man, even at the prime of life proved unfit for high rule, and whose dullness of disposition was now aggravated by the torpor of age? Was not this of all others the post which, as having been held by Walpole, would most attract the notice of the public, and indicate the intentions of the Government? Should then Walpole's principal opponent have left that post to one of Walpole's colleagues, who was pledged as such to Walpole's whole course of measures, and who could not swerve from them, without far greater inconsistency than Pulteney, so anxiously avoided, in himself?—I must own that I concur with Lord Chesterfield in thinking that so partial a change in the Cabinet, far from being a pledge that measures would be altered, was rather a sign that they would not.

Then again why claim a peerage? If Pulteney shrunk from the labours, he should also have relinquished the prizes of public life. The sacrifice should have been entire and complete. But it appears that this act of political suicide (for such it proved to the new Lord Bath) though prompted by his own inclination, had been aided and facilitated by the influence of Walpole with the King. The veteran minister clearly foresaw the impending ruin of reputation to his rival, and it was with this view that he laboured to remove His Majesty's reluctance to Pulteney's expected demand—nay more,

when Pulteney wished afterwards to recede from his promised patent, the King, under Walpole's direction, insisted on his taking it. "I remember" says Horace Walpole, "my father's action and "words when he returned from Court, and told me "what he had done:—'I have turned the key of "'the closet on him!' making that motion with his "hand."*

Never, certainly, was any statesman's conduct more fatal to himself. He lost ground alike with King and people. As Chesterfield observes, "the "King hated him almost as much for what he might "have done as for what he had done; the nation "looked upon him as a deserter; and he shrunk "into insignificance and an Earldom."† From the moment of Wilmington's appointment, his influence and popularity began to decline; the cry being that the nation was betrayed, and an infamous compromise effected for screening Sir Robert Walpole. But at the news of his own creation as Earl of Bath, which was deferred till nearly the last day of the Session, the public indignation knew no bounds: the peerage was everywhere denounced as the price of perfidy, and the acclamations which used to greet his presence were changed to scoffs and hisses. His attempts to rise from this

* Reminiscences (Works, vol. iv. p. 317.). There is also a story of Pulteney flinging down and trampling upon the patent when he first received it; but on this point Horace Walpole can only speak from rumour.

† Characters, p. 31.

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depression were frequent but ineffectual, for "the "confidence of the public, where once great, and "once lost, is never to be regained."* The first time that Lord Orford met him in the House of Peers, Orford walked up and observed to him with malicious pleasantry, "Here we are, my Lord, "the two most insignificant fellows in England!"†

It must be owned, however, that however ill judged the conduct of Pulteney, his motives were very far from mean or sordid, and that the public resentment, though not without foundation, greatly exceeded all bounds of justice or reason. But such is the common fate of factious men. Pulteney and his coadjutors had raised a spirit in the nation, which they could not lay. All these bawlers against Walpole's system had no practical measures of improvement in view; and, when placed at the helm, had nothing better to suggest than a continuation of Walpole's system. The people who had been taught to believe themselves oppressed by the old Government, of course, under such circumstances, believed themselves betrayed by the new. They became unjust to Pulteney, only because he had made them unjust to Walpole. Nor are there any characters in History who, in my opinion, deserve less compassion, than those who become the victims of the popular ferment which themselves have stirred.

* Chesterfield's Characters, p. 32.

† Dr. King's Anecdotes of his own Times, p. 43.

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We can trace with some accuracy the schemes with which the public mind was teeming at the period of Walpole's resignation; since, almost immediately after that event, the greatest counties and chief towns in Great Britain sent representations to their Members, stating and urging their wishes. The purport of all these documents is nearly the same. First comes a loud cry for the blood of Walpole. "Shall the disturber of the public" say the Westminster Electors, "be permitted "the enjoyment of private tranquillity? Lenity "to such a one would be cruelty to the nation." We have next heavy complaints from Suffolk of the exportation of English wool, "which many agricul- "turists apprehend to be the cause of the fatal "decay of that manufacture in this kingdom, and "of the prodigious increase of the poor." In other passages we find an outcry against the recent decay of trade, for which Walpole is considered answerable, as if such decay did not necessarily follow war, or as if Walpole had not been censured by themselves for preserving peace! The members are earnestly entreated to vote against Standing Armies in time of peace—a strange earnestness in the midst of hostilities lately begun, and so far from any prospect of cessation! The Septennial Act is reprobated—septennial ale being a much less pleasant prospect than triennial! There is also a demand for a Bill to limit the number of placemen in Parliament—undoubtedly a wise and well timed measure, if the limitation had not been carried, as

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they certainly designed, too far.* Had there been a Reformed House of Commons at that period, all these sagacious recommendations must undoubtedly have prevailed; the head of Walpole would have rolled upon the scaffold; and an Act would have passed to check the increase of poor by limiting the sale of wool! But in 1742, as on many other occasions, the old nomination boroughs served to restrain the immediate fulfilment of rash desires, and allow the larger constituencies leisure to cool and to reflect.

The only point on which the leaders of the late Opposition showed a warmth corresponding with the nation's, was the prosecution of vindictive measures against Walpole. They had employed Mr. Fazakerley, a high Tory lawyer and Member of Parliament, to draw up articles of impeachment†; but not finding these satisfactory, Lord Limerick, on the 9th of March, moved for a Secret Committee to inquire into the administration of Sir Robert during the last twenty years. Pulteney was not present, being detained by the dangerous and, as it proved, mortal illness of his daughter; but his aversion to the motion was privately intimated by

* The measure demanded at this period is defined by a contemporary "as a rigid place and pension Bill, excluding from "Parliament every servant of his Majesty, who had abilities "and experience." (Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 532.). He adds, "Many of the towns were for reducing if not abolishing almost "all taxes, though they all agreed in the wisdom and necessity "of continuing the war with double vigour."

† H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, February 18. 1742.

his friends, and this hint, combined with his absence, caused the question to be negatived by a majority of only two, 244 against 242.

When, however, Pulteney resumed his seat, he found so many and such bitter imputations cast upon his want of zeal, that he was compelled to entreat Lord Limerick to renew his motion. But as the forms of Parliament do not allow any motion, once rejected, to be tried again in the same Session, the term of the proposed inquiry was altered from twenty years to the last ten. In this shape the motion was repeated on the 23d of March, when Pulteney not only voted but spoke for it, declaring, however, that he was against rancour in the inquiry, and desired not to be named on the Committee.* The fallen Minister was defended by his son Horace in a first and not unsuccessful effort of oratory, but was fiercely and most ably assailed by Pitt, who observed, that if it was becoming in the Honourable Gentleman to remember that he was the child of the accused, the House ought to remember also that they were the children of their country! On the division in a very full House, the question was carried by seven votes, the numbers being 252 and 245.

The next point was the nomination of this Secret Committee, through the means of lists given in by every member, and then examined by a Committee appointed for that purpose. This Com-

* Bishop Secker's Diary, March 23. 1742.

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mittee of examination continued at their labour for twenty-two hours without any intermission.* At length the names being announced, were found, out of 21, to comprise many rancorous opponents, and only two decided friends of Walpole.†

The Committee having met and chosen Lord Limerick for their Chairman, entered upon their investigation with all the zeal and activity that hatred can supply. They searched through the Treasury books and papers for proofs of guilt, and summoned before them the persons supposed to have been the secret agents of Walpole in his schemes of corruption. So plain and open was their animosity, that several members of their own party in the Committee became disgusted with it and ceased to attend. Among these, to his high and lasting honour was Sir John Barnard, who declared that he thought their views had been more general, but that finding them so particular against one man, he would not engage with them.‡

With all their ardour and activity, the Commit-

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, April 1. 1742. This is confirmed by Bishop Secker's Diary. Only one member fainted from the fatigue!

† The difference between Coxe, who states the number of Sir Robert's adherents on this Committee as two, and Horace Walpole, who mentions five, is easily explained by the distinction of sure or doubtful friends.—Sir Robert Walpole, who understood the *esprit de corps*, was very indifferent to this nomination of a few of his adherents. He observed, "They will become "so zealous for the honour of this Committee that they will no "longer pay regard to mine."

‡ H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, April 22. 1742.

tee made little progress. Paxton, Solicitor to the Treasury, Scrope, its Secretary, and other persons brought before them, refused to answer lest anything in their replies should criminate themselves. The Court also, though silent and cautious, were eager to hush the inquiry: their communications with Orford were secret, but frequent; and Mr. Edgcombe, who had been under Walpole the main manager of the little Cornish boroughs, was created a peer, with the view that the privileges of the Upper House might shield him from examination. Under these circumstances the Committee, much perplexed, applied to the House. Paxton was committed to Newgate, and a Bill was introduced to indemnify evidence against the Earl of Orford, that is, granting to every witness a remission of all penalties or punishments to which he might become liable by his disclosures. 1742.

This Bill, which, like that against Bishop Atterbury, broke through the settled forms and safeguards of law, in order to strike at one obnoxious head, was readily passed by the House of Commons, the members being then, as always happens in the heat of party, intent on their immediate object, and careless of final results. In the Lords the measure was warmly supported by Chesterfield and Bathurst, but as warmly and more effectually opposed by Carteret and the Chancellor Hardwicke. "In my opinion," said the latter, "it is "a Bill calculated to make a defence impossible, "to deprive innocence of its guard, and to let

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"loose oppression and perjury upon the world. "It is a Bill to dazzle the wicked with a prospect "of security, and to incite them to purchase an "indemnity for one crime by the perpetration of "another. It is a Bill to confound the notions of "right and wrong, to violate the essence of our "Constitution, and to leave us without any certain "security for our properties or rule for our actions. "So clearly do I see the danger and injustice of a "law like this, that I believe if I were condemned "to a choice so disagreeable, I should more wil-"lingly suffer by such a Bill passed in my own "case, than consent to pass it in that of another!"* In accordance with the judgment of this great magistrate, a large majority of Peers decided for the rejection of the Bill.

This disappointment was severely felt by the enemies of Walpole in the Commons. Lord Strange, son of the Earl of Derby, a young man of some talent, but more violence, moved a resolution that the proceedings of the Peers were "an obstruction to justice," and the two Houses would have come into collision, had not Pulteney, and the Members of the new Administration, opposed the motion, and determined its rejection by a majority of fifty-two. Thus baffled in their attempt at obtaining larger powers,

* Parl. Hist. vol. xii. p. 695. Horace Walpole observes in his lively manner: "By this Bill, whoever is guilty of mur-"der, treason, forgery, &c., have nothing to do but to add per-"jury, and swear Lord Orford knew of it, and they may plead "their pardon!" To Sir H. Mann, May 13. 1742.

the Secret Committee resumed their sittings, and again endeavoured to intimidate Scrope, the Secretary of the Treasury. But this old man, firm against all threats, had formerly braved a sterner tyranny than theirs. As a stripling, he had fought under Monmouth at Sedge Moor, and carried intelligence to Holland in woman's clothes. He now, with as bold a spirit, answered the Committee that "he was fourscore years of age, and did not "care whether he spent the few months he had to "live in the Tower or not, but that the last thing "he would do was to betray the King, and next "to the King, the Earl of Orford."* We may conclude that his courage and his years wrought favourably with the more generous minds in the Committee. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer, also, pleaded in behalf of a useful secretary; and, on the whole, Scrope was dismissed without further molestation.

It was not till the 30th of June, very nearly at the close of the Session, that the Committee presented their Second Report. The insignificance of the charges it contains appears one of the strongest arguments in favour of the fallen Minister. For, even admitting that great obstacles might be thrown in the way of discovery, yet still, as I have elsewhere contended†, if Walpole's acts of bribery and corruption had been of such common and daily oc-

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, June 17. 1742.

† See vol. i. p. 403.

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currence as his enemies had urged, nay, even if they approached in any degree to the representations of them, it is impossible that a band of determined enemies, armed with all ordinary powers, should have failed to bring to light a considerable number. Instead of these, the Report can only allege, that during one election at Weymouth, a place had been promised to the Mayor, and a living to his brother; and that some Revenue Officers, who refused to vote for the Ministerial candidate, had been dismissed. It denounces a contract with Messrs. Burrell and Bristow as fraudulent, because the contractors had gained 14 per cent., forgetting that large profit in one case is often required to counterbalance total loss in another. It then proceeds to express some loose suspicions as to the application of the sums for Secret and Special Services, which, as it asserts, amounted during the last ten years to no less than 1,453,000*l.*, whereas, in a corresponding period of ten years, from 1707 to 1717, they were only 337,000*l.* But it appears that in the first place there is great disingenuousness in these calculations, since the latter omits a sum of 178,000*l.*, accruing from a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of all foreign troops in the British service, and also omits a part of the sum of 500,000*l.*, paid by Parliament in 1713, as the debt of the Civil List. It appears, moreover, that several expenses which at present are provided for under different heads, and in a more open manner—especially all pensions paid

from the Treasury—were at those periods classed as Secret or Special Service. Nor should we forget, that at a time when nearly all foreign Courts were most disgracefully open to corruption, large sums might be necessary to procure early and exact intelligence of their intentions, or produce a favourable decision in their councils. Still, I acknowledge I think it probable, and scarcely to be doubted, that some part of the money was corruptly spent at home. But if such corruption had been common, flagrant, or unblushing, I ask again, why should not the Committee have been able to trace and expose it, in like manner as they showed that of these sums for Secret Service, 50,000*l.*, during the last ten years, that is, 5,000*l.* annually, had been paid to Walpole's writers in newspapers and pamphlets?

On the whole, this Report of the Committee, from which so much had been expected, instead of exciting indignation against the Minister, rather drew ridicule upon themselves, and as we are told by a contemporary, was received by the public with contempt.*

Another remarkable proceeding of this Session was a motion to repeal the Septennial Act, when Pulteney, till then the warm promoter of such motions, stood forth as its opponent, and caused it to

* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 545. See the Report at full length in the Parl. Hist. vol. xii. p. 788-827., and the elaborate but partial Commentary which fills the 61st Chapter of Coxe's Walpole.

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be rejected by his influence. His creed on that occasion seems by no means clear: he said he thought annual Parliaments would be best, but preferred septennial to triennial!*

This memorable Session was also distinguished by a zealous determination to support the Queen of Hungary. A subsidy of 500,000*l.* was granted to her on the motion of Pulteney, and a supply of upwards of 5,000,000*l.* voted for the prosecution of the war. Carteret, who had now succeeded to the chief, indeed the sole, management of foreign affairs, and who had often complained of Walpole's backwardness, was fully resolved on more vigorous measures, and prevailed with his colleagues that a body of 16,000 men should be sent as auxiliaries to Flanders. Their command was entrusted to the veteran Earl of Stair, who was drawn from his twenty years' retirement out of public business, and dignified with the title of Field Marshal. But the slow forms and indecisive temper of the Dutch restrained them from taking the part that was expected in conjunction with those troops, though bound by the same engagements, and by a much stronger interest, than England, to support the Pragmatic Sanction. In vain did Stair remonstrate; in vain

* Bishop Secker's Diary, March 31. 1742. The motion was brought forward by Sir Robert Godschall, Lord Mayor and Member for the City, a very dull man. Once in discussing some merchants' petitions, there was a copy of a letter produced, the original being lost, and Godschall asked, whether the copy had been taken before the original was lost, or after!

did Carteret himself hasten over to the Hague at the close of the Session: the lightning of his eloquence flashed ineffectually upon the sluggish mass; and it was not till some time afterwards, that in the struggle of their jarring fears, their apprehension of the French power prevailed, and induced them to assume a more prominent position. From thence it happened that the British forces, during the whole of this campaign, remained in Flanders "idle, unemployed, and quarrelling with the inhabitants."* CHAP. XXIV. 1742.

Happily for the Queen of Hungary, the ardour of her subjects atoned for the slackness of her allies. During the winter, her new levies, headed by Prince Charles of Lorraine, recovered no small part of the open country of Bohemia, and confined Marshal De Broglie and his French nearly to the ramparts of Prague. Another division, under Count Khevenhüller, the most enterprising of the Austrian generals at this period, defeated the French and Bavarians united, at Linz, and compelled a large body of the former to capitulate. Not satisfied with this success, Khevenhüller became the invader in his turn; his troops pouring into Bohemia, overspread its vast plains almost without resistance, and entered its capital, Munich, on the very day that its sovereign was elected Emperor at Frankfort. And thus by a singular coincidence, while a Court of Sovereigns hailed Charles their chief—while the

* These are the words of Tindal (Hist. vol. viii. p. 589.)

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orb of the world was, according to ancient custom, borne before him, as though all subject to his sway, —he was despoiled even of his own hereditary states! * Grateful for such successes, the Queen of Hungary sent Khevenhüller an affecting letter of thanks, with the pictures of herself and her son. The letter was read, and the picture displayed to the assembled soldiers, raising their enthusiasm to the highest pitch, and calling forth a solemn and unanimous expression of their devotion to her cause.

Besides the enthusiasm of her own soldiers and people, Maria Theresa, at this period, derived no small advantage from the jealousies and animosities prevailing between the little German Princes.† Ceremony and precedence were then, as it appears, the favourite business of their lives. Whether a single or an arm-chair should be assigned to each other at an interview—whether their right hand or their left should be held forth in a festival—whether they ought to be addressed as EURE DURCHLAUCHT (your Highness) or EUER LIEBDEN, (a subdivision of rank so minute as to defy translation,)—such were the

* A satirical medal was struck about this time; on one side the head of Francis of Lorraine, afterwards Emperor, and the motto AUT CÆSAR AUT NIHIL; on the reverse the head of Charles, with ET CÆSAR ET NIHIL!

† A practised diplomatist observed eight years before: "Such is the eternal envy in the neighbouring Courts of Ger-"many, that they most cordially hate one another." Horace Walpole (the elder) to Sir Robert, October 22. 1734.

points on which they most deeply felt and most frequently contended.* Not a few of them, says Chesterfield, would borrow a ducat's worth of gold on purpose to exercise the invaluable JUS CUDENDÆ MONETÆ. With such prejudices, we may easily conceive that to assist the rapid aggrandizement of one of their own number—to find a sovereign where they had hitherto beheld an equal,—would be far more galling than a continuation of the old respect and homage so long paid to the Court of Vienna. And it was, probably, in a great measure from this jealousy that many of the smaller German states, at first unfriendly to Maria Theresa, began to lean to her interests, upon the enthronement of her Bavarian rival. 1742.

Again, the stronger minds, among these Princes, entertained well-founded alarms of the encroachments and conquests of the French in Germany. So prevalent was this apprehension with the King of Prussia, as to render him most desirous of peace and not unreasonable in his terms. Early in the

* The constant recurrence of such discussions, and the grave manner of treating them, are very striking in the Memoirs of the Margravine of Bareith—a princess certainly of no ordinary understanding. See the case of *Euer Liebden* (vol. ii. p. 249.) At Frankfort, in her interview with the Bavarian Empress, the point of chairs caused terrible difficulties. "On disputa tout le "jour. . . . . Tout ce qu'on put obtenir fut que l'Imperatrice ne "prendrait qu'un très petit fauteuil, et qu'elle me donnerait un "grand dossier!" (Ib. p. 345.)

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winter he had even agreed to a secret armistice, which proved highly serviceable to Maria Theresa, as allowing her to employ her forces elsewhere,—to take Munich and to threaten Prague. But finding that he could not prevail in obtaining a peace with the concessions he desired, Frederick abruptly resumed the offensive, entered Moravia, reduced Olmutz, and then passing into Bohemia engaged the army of Prince Charles on the 17th of May, at the village of Czaslau. The numbers on each side were nearly equal, not so the skill of the commanders; and the Austrians were worsted with considerable loss.* This defeat induced the Queen of Hungary to recede from her determination with respect to Silesia, and to yield that province as a peace-offering to the most dangerous of her antagonists. A treaty with this condition was accordingly signed at Breslau, in the ensuing month, including likewise the accession of the King of Poland as Elector of Saxony, who was gratified with some small districts on the Bohemian frontier.

Thus freed from the Prussian arms, Prince Charles was enabled to turn his undivided force to the reduction of Prague, where the French, about 25,000 strong, had been joined and were now commanded by Marshal Belleisle. The place was closely invested by the Austrians, who, however, pushed their attacks with very slender skill and slow

* Coxe's House of Austria, vol. iii. p. 273.

progress; but a still more formidable enemy— famine—was wasting the French ranks within. Belleisle, in a conference with Konigsegg, one of the Austrian Generals, offered to evacuate the city and all Bohemia, provided he had leave to march with his arms, artillery and baggage. He also presented to Konigsegg a letter from Cardinal Fleury, in which that Minister expressed his readiness for peace, and declared that he had been forced into the war against his inclination. But the Austrian leaders would hear of no terms but unconditional surrender, and gave no other answer to Fleury's letter than by printing it in the public papers, to the great discredit and mortification of the Cardinal.* CHAP. XXIV. 1742.

To relieve the French at Prague, Marshal Maillebois was directed to advance with his army from Westphalia. At these tidings Prince Charles changed the siege of Prague to a blockade, and, marching against his new opponents, checked their progress on the Bohemian frontier; the French, however, still occupying the town of Egra. It was under these circumstances that Belleisle made his masterly and renowned retreat from Prague. In

* Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV. ch. 7. He adds: "Le Cardinal, voyant sa lettre imprimée, en écrivit une seconde, dans laquelle il se plaint au Général Autrichien de ce qu'on a publié sa première, et lui dit qu'il ne lui écrira plus désormais ce qu'il pense. Cette seconde lettre lui fit encore plus de tort que la première." These letters are inserted in the Mémoires de Noailles (vol. v. p. 413—19), but the second does not contain the threat of insincerity which Voltaire asserts.

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the night of the 16th of December, he secretly left the city at the head of 11,000 foot and 3000 horse, having deceived the Austrians' vigilance by the feint of a general forage in the opposite quarter; and pushed for Egra through a hostile country, destitute of resources and surrounded by superior enemies. His soldiers, with no other food than frozen bread, and compelled to sleep without covering on the snow and ice, perished in great numbers; but the gallant spirit of Belleisle triumphed over every obstacle: he struck through morasses almost untrodden before, offered battle to Prince Lobkowitz, who however declined engaging, and at length succeeded in reaching the other French army with the flower of his own. The remnant left at Prague, and amounting only to 6000 men, seemed an easy prey; yet their threat of firing the city, and perishing beneath its ruins, and the recent proof of what despair can do, obtained for them honourable terms, and the permission of rejoining their comrades at Egra. But in spite of all this skill and courage in the French invaders the final result to them was failure, nor had they attained a single permanent advantage beyond their own safety in retreat. Maillebois and De Broglie took up winter quarters in Bavaria, while Belleisle led back his division across the Rhine; and it was computed that of the 35,000 men whom he had first conducted into Germany, not more than 8000 returned beneath his banner.

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As in Germany apprehension of the French wrought in favour of Maria Theresa, so did apprehension of the Spaniards in Italy. The Queen of Spain made no secret of her desire and intention to obtain an independent sovereignty for her younger son Don Philip, as she had already the kingdom of Naples for Don Carlos, and this indeed had been her main motive for entering into the war; but the project was so distasteful to the King of Sardinia, who imagined that it might be realised partly at his own expense, that he was induced not only to relinquish his alliance with France and Spain, but to espouse the opposite cause of Maria Theresa. His accession gave the Austrians a decided superiority in the field, enabling them to drive the Spanish general, the Duke de Montemar, out of Lombardy, with the loss of nearly half his army. At the same time no less important services were achieved by the British fleet on these coasts. Its commander was no longer Haddock: he had been superseded by Admiral Lestock, and Lestock in his turn by Admiral Mathews, who was sent out on the change of administration with seven additional ships of the line, and who arrived eager to justify the choice, and to correct the inactivity so much complained of in this quarter. One of his captains, cruising in pursuit of five Spanish gallies, and finding them take refuge in the little French port of St. Tropez, was not withheld by the peace which still subsisted with France, (for both France and

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England had hitherto engaged only as auxiliaries,) but entered the harbour after them, attacked them, and by the aid of a fire-ship reduced them to ashes. This insult to the French flag, though passed over by Cardinal Fleury, affected him most deeply: when the tidings were brought to him, we are told that he covered his eyes with his hands, exclaiming SI MEA CREDITA TRAHUNT ME!—which he repeated again and again.*

Another squadron of the British fleet, entrusted to Commodore Martin, suddenly appeared in the Bay of Naples, and threatened an immediate bombardment, unless the King would engage in writing to withdraw his troops (there were 20,000 men) from the Spanish army, and to observe in future a strict neutrality. The Neapolitan Court, wholly unprepared for the defence of the city, endeavoured to elude the demand by prolonging the negotiation. But the gallant Englishman, with a spirit not unworthy the Roman who drew a circle around the Asiatic despot, and bade him not step from it until he had made his decision, laid his watch upon the table in his cabin, and told the negotiators that their answer must be given within the space of an hour, or that the bombardment should begin. This proceeding, however railed at by the diplomatists as contrary to all form and etiquette, produced a result such as they had seldom attained by pro-

* Mr. Villette to the Duke of Newcastle, July 19. 1742. Appendix.

tocols. Within the hour Don Carlos acquiesced in the required terms. Thus was the neutrality of a considerable kingdom in this contest secured by the sight of five British ships of the line during four-and-twenty hours; for their number was but such, and no longer time elapsed between their first appearance and their final departure from the bay.*

* Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain, vol. iii. p. 335. Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 570.

## CHAPTER XXV.

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When in November 1742, the new administration again encountered the assembled Parliament, it had already survived the popular impulse which gave it birth, and, while itself discordant, could only lean for strength on the discord and division of its opponents. It had endeavoured, at the close of the last Session, to gratify the Tory party by appointing Lord Gower Privy Seal in the place of Hervey, and Lord Bathurst Captain of the Band of Pensioners. Shortly afterwards, also, the office of Solicitor General was bestowed, and most worthily, on William Murray. But the Tories, and indeed the whole people, disappointed in their vast though vague expectations of national advantage from the Ministerial change, looked on, for the most part, in moody discontent. They felt, as Bolingbroke observed (for Bolingbroke had come over to England on a summer ramble, or perhaps with an ambitious hope), that "the principles of the last "Opposition have been the principles of very few

"of the opposers." With still greater bitterness does he add to Marchmont, "Your Lordship and "I, and some few—very few—besides, were the "bubbles of men whose advantage lies in having "worse hearts."* And again at a later period, "Liberty has been the cry of one set of men, as "prerogative was formerly of another. But it has "been no more than a cry; and the cause of liberty "has been as little regarded by those leaders "who gave it out to their troops, as the cause of "St. George or St. Denis was concerned in the "battles of the English and the French."† Yet, notwithstanding such angry denunciations of his countrymen, Bolingbroke had determined once more to live among them. We find him again returned to England in January 1743‡; and he chiefly resided, till his death in 1752, at a house near Battersea, surrounded by the veteran friends of his youth, or the youthful admirers of his genius, and manifesting a far diminished influence, but an unabated eagerness in all political cabals.

The new Cabinet was divided into two great and nearly equal sections; the former opponents and the former colleagues of Sir Robert Walpole. Among these last, the most eminent undoubtedly was the Chancellor, Philip Yorke, Lord, and afterwards Earl of, Hardwicke. The family of Hardwicke was neither rich nor old: he owed his

* To Lord Marchmont, October 30. 1742.

† To the same, November 25. 1746.

‡ See the Marchmont Papers, vol. ii. p. 289.

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elevation solely to himself, to high character, extensive knowledge, and eminent abilities. He was born in 1690, the son of an attorney at Dover; and at the early age of twenty-two we find him amongst the smaller contributors to the Spectator.* He was first brought forward in public life by Newcastle and Stanhope, of whom, the former named him a Member of Parliament in 1718, and the latter, Solicitor General in 1720.† Rising through the different stages of his profession, and distinguishing himself in all, he at length, in 1737, became Chancellor on the death of Lord Talbot, and continued such for nearly twenty years. Never was that high office more worthily or honourably filled. If we compare him to Somers—yet how difficult to assign the palm between two such mighty names!—we should say, perhaps, that Somers was the more distinguished as a statesman, but Yorke the superior as a magistrate. His decisions have ever been revered as a great landmark in our law, nor has calumny once dared to breathe against the uprightness of his motives. Amidst a degenerate age—while a too prevalent corruption had deeply tainted the State, his Judge's ermine, like the fleece of Gideon, shone forth unsullied and pure. As an orator, he was never warm or impassioned, but clear, weighty, and convincing. When he rose in debate, it seemed, says Lord Lyttleton, like

* Park's Continuation of Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. iv. p. 267. Mr. Yorke was the author of the letter on travelling, in No. 364., signed Philip Homebred.

† Boyer's Political State, vol. xix. p. 351.

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Public Wisdom speaking.* His knowledge, high as it soared in his own department, was not confined to it: in literature he was accomplished; with foreign affairs well acquainted. Lord Waldegrave, who does not praise him as a statesman, owns, that even in that capacity he had been the main support of the Duke of Newcastle's administration.† The principal blemish which his enemies imputed to him, and probably not without some truth, was avarice; yet, it should be borne in mind that Chancellors are easily, but unjustly exposed to this charge, from being contrasted with their colleagues and associates, men in general of hereditary fortunes and large expense, whilst the Head of the Law, on the contrary, must endeavour to found a family, and earn an estate, and not leave his son, as a poor Peer, a burthen on his country. This endeavour every thoughtless spendthrift or envious detractor may call avarice; but should not the Historian award to it a nobler name?

Of the others who had been Walpole's colleagues, Lord Wilmington, though nominally at the head of the Government, was justly regarded both by his own subordinates and by the public as a mere cypher. The Pelhams, namely, the Duke of Newcastle and his brother, backed by Lord Harrington, cowered beneath the storm that had overwhelmed their late chief: they were supported by the still powerful influence of that chief, from his retirement at

* See H. Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 303.

† Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 85.

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Houghton, and by the good opinion of their Royal master; but they directed their views chiefly to future opportunities, and prudently awaited the clearing of the sky.

On the opposite side in the Cabinet were Mr. Sandys, Lords Winchilsea, Tweeddale, Gower, and Carteret; the latter considered by the people, and being in fact the new Prime Minister. His character, which I have elsewhere more fully pourtrayed*, was a strange medley of brilliant abilities and of boyish freaks. Sometimes astonishing and over-awing his colleagues by his genius, at other moments he must have become their laughing-stock, as when he insisted upon reading to them in Council the love letters he received from Lady Sophia Fermor, a young beauty who became his second wife. "He is never sober," writes Horace Walpole, "and his rants are amazing, but so are "his parts and his spirit."† The period of his Government was called "the Drunken Adminis-"tration," in allusion partly to his convivial habits, but describing also his dashing, bold, and buoyant temper. We are told that on coming to power, he was base enough to think, and rash enough to say publicly, that England could only be governed by corruption.‡ He was admirably skilled in all

* See vol. ii. p. 81.

† To Sir H. Mann, November 30. 1743. and April 15. 1744.

‡ This remark is eagerly fastened upon by Mr. Carte, and he shrewdly adds, that "the world sooner forgets an ill action in "a man than an imprudent speech." To the Pretender, May 4. 1743. Appendix.

foreign affairs as well as languages, and speedily gained the King's highest favour by going all lengths in his Hanoverian measures. But intent as he was upon diplomatic negotiations and Royal smiles, he neglected all those smaller but necessary cares, by which alone party influence can be acquired or retained. On one occasion we are told, that when the Chief Justice, Willes, came to apply to him for an appointment, "What is it to me," cried Carteret, "who is a Judge and who a "Bishop? It is my business to make Kings and "Emperors, and to maintain the balance of Eu-"rope!" "Then" answered the Chief Justice, "those who want to be Judges or Bishops will "apply to those who will condescend to make it "their business!"* And so, indeed, it proved. The disposal of patronage was a labour of love to the Pelhams, and to them accordingly the whole pack of place-hunters—always a large one—repaired. Thus it happened, that in the race of power, which had begun even now, from the declining health of Wilmington, and for the spoils of his succession, Lord Carteret—immeasurably superior as he was in genius to the Pelhams—far higher as he stood at one time, both in Royal and popular regard—sunk down, overpowered beneath their active, consistent, and decorous mediocrity.

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The great object of George the Second at this time was, to appear, in emulation of William the

* See H. Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 147.

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Third, at the head of a confederate army, and to assist his Electoral dominions as largely as possible from his kingdom's resources. With this view, had the British troops been sent to Flanders; with this view, had they been reinforced by 6000 Hessians, taken into British pay, under a convention which Walpole had not long since concluded, and which forms one of the least justifiable acts of his whole administration. But it was now desired to extend this measure still further, and more directly to Hanover, by hiring from the British Treasury 16,000 soldiers of that country. Much as Carteret had clamoured against such a system, while yet in Opposition, he now readily acceded to it, thereby gaining at once the King's highest confidence; it was also, strange as it seems, concurred in by Lord Bath and Mr. Sandys, and adopted by the Cabinet.

But when at the opening of Parliament the King's Speech announced the 16,000 Hanoverians, and when hints of British pay for them were thrown out in the Ministerial ranks, it may easily be conceived how adverse was the feeling excited in the country. The hiring of foreigners in bands of mercenaries, however consonant to the rude military system of the darkest ages, is condemned alike by religion and natural reason: it is neither praiseworthy in those who sell their blood, nor in those who buy it; and is rightful only when the former have some national interest of their own in the quarrel, and when the latter have already raised, armed and tried their own force, and found it unequal to their enemy's. But, indepen-

dently of these general reflections, it seemed very far from constitutional to have taken a step of such importance, and so great extent, without the previous deliberation and consent of Parliament. But even waiving this also, there still remained the chief grievance which the people felt or the Opposition urged—the glaring partiality to Hanover. It was heaping fuel on a fire that already burned high. Since 1714, it had always been the cry that Hanover was preferred to England: that cry had resounded sometimes with and sometimes without reason; but never had more just cause been afforded it than now. The nation observed, that though Hanover was far more immediately concerned in the event of the present war than England, it did not appear to have contributed any thing to the support of the common cause. It was also not left unnoticed that, on this occasion, Hanover had made a far more profitable bargain for herself than in 1702, when Marlborough had negotiated for the hire of 10,000 men from Luneburg, there being in that contract no stipulation either for levy or recruit money, whereas, in this present case, these amounted to 160,000*l.** It was said, that a force to the same

* Compare the Commons' Journals, November 19. 1703, and December 3. 1742. The additional items in the latter are as follows:

| | £. |
|---|---|
| Levy Money | 139,313 |
| Recruit Money from August till December 1742, | |
| Horse | 2,215 |
| Foot | 2,555 |

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amount might be safely spared to go abroad, from the 23,000 soldiers whom we idly maintained at home. It was contended likewise, that if we must have mercenaries we ought to have taken any rather than from Hanover, because we might have engaged the Prince whose troops we hired, to join us in espousing the cause of the Queen of Hungary, and because, if the Hanoverians were once taken, our future administrations would always be ready to gratify the King, by finding pretexts for retaining them. Nay, the more eager partisans carried their exaggeration so far as to declare that the Act of Settlement, providing that Great Britain should never engage in war on account of Hanover, had been violated, and they did not even shrink from the inference to which that declaration seemed to lead.

The ambiguity of the King's Speech as to the pay of the Hanoverians, restrained discussion upon them, until that pay was actually moved for in the House of Commons. All doubts, however, were speedily dispelled. On the 10th of December, Sir William Yonge, as Secretary at War, proposed a grant of 657,000*l.* for defraying the cost of these troops, from August 1742 till December 1743. He defended the proposal with his usual volubility,

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| Till December 1743, | £. |
|---|---|
| Horse - - - - - - | 6,912 |
| Foot - - - - - - | 7,914 |

These charges are inaccurately stated in Tindal.—There is also a provision for an excessive number of staff officers.

and was supported (with signal courage, considering former professions,) by the new Chancellor of the Exchequer. But several eloquent voices were raised against them. "As the King," said Sir John St. Aubyn, "has every other virtue, "so he has, undoubtedly, a most passionate love "for his native country; a passion the more easily "to be flattered, because it arises from virtue. I "wish that those who have the honour to be of his "councils would imitate his Royal example, and "show a passion for their native country too!"* The invective of Pitt was as bitter, and more direct. "It is now too apparent that this great, this "powerful, this formidable kingdom is considered "only as a province to a despicable electorate, and "that, in consequence of a scheme formed long "ago and invariably pursued, these troops are "hired only to drain this unhappy nation of its "money."† Yet, on a division, the Ministers could muster 260 votes against 193—a clear sign how many of the patriots had combined with Walpole's friends, and how weak, even against the most unpopular proposals, was the new Opposition.

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It was on another such debate, relative to the British troops lying unemployed in Flanders, that Murray the new Solicitor General made his first speech in Parliament: it was received with high applause, and was answered by Pitt; and observers

* Parl. Hist. vol xii. p. 952. † Ibid. p. 1035.

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could foresee, even from this first trial, that the two statesmen would henceforth be great rivals.*

As, however, the principal members of the Cabinet and leaders of the Opposition were now in the House of Peers, it was there that the main debate on the Hanoverian troops ensued. The question was brought forward by Lord Stanhope, son and successor of the late Prime Minister. Philip, second Earl Stanhope, was born in 1714, and therefore only seven years old at his father's decease. He had great talents, but fitter for speculation than for practical objects of action. He made himself one of the best—Lalande used to say the best—mathematicians in England of his day, and was likewise deeply skilled in other branches of science and philosophy. The Greek language was as familiar to him as the English; he was said to know every line of Homer by heart. In public life, on the contrary, he was shy, ungainly, and embarrassed. So plain was he in his dress and deportment that, on going down to the House of Lords to take his seat, after a long absence on the Continent, the door-keeper could not believe he was a Peer, and pushed him aside, saying "Honest man, you "have no business in this place."—"I am sorry, "indeed," replied the Earl, "if honest men "have no business here!" From his first outset in Parliament he took part with vehemence against the administration of Walpole.† He had been

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, December 9. 1742.

† "We are to have Lord Rockingham and Lord Stanhope

educated chiefly at Leyden and Geneva, and the principles he had there formed or imbibed leaned far more to the democratical than to the kingly or aristocratical branches of the constitution; they are even termed "republican" by Horace Walpole*, but unjustly, for, like his father, he was a most zealous assertor of the Hanover succession.

The speech of Stanhope on this occasion was pre-composed and full of strong arguments, but delivered, as we are told, "with great tremblings "and agitations." He said, "the country these "troops come from makes it probable they will "frequently be taken, and affairs abroad embroiled "for the sake of lending them. What would "Poland think of taking Saxons into pay? Why "should not some regard be had to the opinion of "the people, who will always judge right of the "end though not of the means, as well as to the "inclinations of rulers who may aim wrong in "both?†" And he concluded with a motion for an address to the King, that he would be graciously pleased to exonerate his people of those Mercenaries, who were taken into pay last year, without consent of Parliament. He was ably seconded by Lord Sandwich, and still more ably answered by

"(who are just come of age) in the House of Lords; the first "of whom I hear will be with us, the latter against us. All the "Stanhopes and Spencers are taught to look on a Walpole as "one they are to hate by inheritance." Lord Hervey to Horace Walpole the elder, December 23. 1735. Coxe's Walpole.

* H. Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 100.

† Bishop Secker's Diary, February 1. 1743.

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Lord Carteret. Hervey spoke with much elo-quence against, and Bathurst for the Hanoverians; a strange transposition of parts, and surely not unconnected with the loss of office in one case, with the acquisition of it in the other! Lord Bath, rising for the first time in that House, declared, in nearly the same terms as Walpole had so often urged against himself, that he "considered it an act "of cowardice and meanness to fall passively down "the stream of popularity, and to suffer reason "and integrity to be overborne by the noise of "vulgar clamours, which have been raised by the "low arts of exaggeration, fallacious reasonings, "and partial representations." He added that the term of "Mercenaries," in Stanhope's motion, seemed designed rather to stir the passions than to influence the judgment. "This was not," said he, "the rash measure of any single man, but the "united opinion of all the administration that were "present" (for Lords Gower and Cobham it appears had stayed away): "it was not only "acquiesced in, but approved on a solemn delibe-"ration. We have now an Address to dismiss, "FLAGRANTE BELLO, troops, which the other "House have given money to pay. What a diffi-"culty would this put the King under! It would "be a greater blow to the Queen of Hungary than "losing ten battles."—A brilliant oration from Chesterfield, and an able argument from Hardwicke, concluded the debate. On the division the Ministers had 90, the Opposition only 35 votes; but

among the latter, to their high honour, were two members of the Cabinet, Cobham and Gower. Their consequent dismissal was expected by the public*, but did not ensue. CHAP. XXV. 1743.

Although these divisions in both Houses were decisive of the subject, so far as the Government was concerned, it was too powerful a weapon for the Opposition to relinquish; and the public mind continued to be stirred by pamphlets, among which, the "Case of the Hanover Forces," written by Lord Chesterfield, excited the most attention, and received the highest applause. I need scarcely add, how eagerly the Jacobites forwarded and swelled a cry so favourable to their hopes and designs. Yet while I condemn the measure on principle, I must acknowledge that in its effects it produced a great collateral advantage; since, it was the taking of these troops by the Government, and their confirmation by the House of Commons, that appear to have mainly determined the wavering temper of the Dutch, and brought them, at this very period, to a co-operation and concert of measures with the King. Nor should it be forgotten, that His Majesty in some measure softened the objections to the grant of British money, by reinforcing, of his own accord, the 16,000 Hanoverians with a body of 6,000 more, paid from his Electoral revenues.

Another remarkable proceeding of this Session

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, February 2. 1743. He speaks only of Gower, but we may conclude that the same expectation existed with respect to Cobham.

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was the repeal of the Gin Act, passed in 1731.* It was found, as Walpole had foretold, that the duties imposed by that Act, and amounting nearly to a prohibition, had only afforded encouragement and opportunity to fraud. Informers were terrified by the threats of the people; justices were either unable or unwilling to enforce the law; and it was proved that the consumption of gin, instead of diminishing, had considerably augmented since the heavy duties were imposed. Though no license was obtained, and no duty paid, the liquor continued to be sold at all corners of the streets; nay, we are even assured that the retailers of it used to set up painted boards, inviting people to be drunk at the small expense of one penny, assuring them they might be dead drunk for two-pence, and have straw for nothing! They accordingly provided cellars or garrets strewed with straw, to which they conveyed those poor wretches who were overwhelmed with intoxication, and who lay there until they recovered some use of their understanding; whilst the other dens for drinking were hideous receptacles of the most filthy vice, resounding with continual riot, oaths, and blasphemy.† To check these frightful disorders, and at the same time prevent the loss to the Revenue, the Ministers had framed a new Bill, by which a small duty per gallon was laid on the spirits at the still-head, and the price of licenses reduced to twenty shillings. Through

* See vol. ii. p. 282.

† See Smollett's History, book ii. ch. 7. sect. 36.

this measure it was calculated that the price of gin by retail would be moderately but really raised—so much as to discourage the drunkard, yet not so much as to encourage the smuggler—that the law, being mitigated, would be enforced—and that the Revenue would gain a clear and certain accession. And if even it were true, as the Opposition affirmed, that the latter motive was the main one with the promoters of the Bill, and that, in the words of a great Spanish historian, "Ill rulers never "deem their Exchequer wrong*;" still the wisdom of the preceding considerations would deserve our praise,—as what reason suggests, and experience has fully confirmed. CHAP. XXV. 1743.

The Bill passed the House of Commons rapidly, and almost without remark†, but in the Lords encountered a most vigorous resistance. All the Bishops opposed it. It was denounced as a sanction to vice—as a license granted to the people for poisoning themselves; as "a bait spread over the "pit-falls of debauchery‡,"—as an infamous attempt to raise the Revenue at the expense of the health and morals of the people. Lord Hervey, in a dexterous speech, moved that several eminent physicians should be summoned to the bar, to prove

* "Fisci causa sub malo Principe nunquam est mala." Mariana Hist. Hispan. lib. xvii. c. 4.

† "It was hurried through the other House with the utmost "precipitation, and passed almost without the formality of a "debate." Chesterfield's Speech, February 21. 1743. This is better authority than Tindal's to the contrary.

‡ Chesterfield's Second Speech, February 24. 1743.

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to the House the fatal effects of dram-drinking. But the palm of eloquence on this occasion was undoubtedly borne away by Chesterfield: his two speeches on this question, inadequately as they seem reported, may yet attract our admiration, and have seldom been surpassed, as combinations of lively wit and impressive forebodings. Sometimes, comparing the measure to "the tax which "Vespasian laid on spirituous liquors of another "kind, that would not indeed admit of a total "prohibition *;" in other passages, again, he thunders against it as the infallible harbinger of national decline, depopulation, and ruin. Yet, notwithstanding his exertions, and those of the Right Reverend Bench, the Bill passed by a great majority.

In this Session an attempt was also made to renew the inquiry into the conduct of Lord Orford, the proposal being brought forward by Mr. Waller, seconded by Sir Watkin Wynn; but it was defeated by large numbers—a proof that the current of popular feeling had already turned. The forces voted for the year were 40,000 seamen and 11,000 marines, 16,000 British troops in Flanders, and 23,000 for guards and garrisons at home. The supplies did not fall short of 6,000,000*l.*†

The King having prorogued the Parliament on the 21st of April, hastened over to his German

* See Bishop Secker's Diary, February 24. 1743.

† Commons' Journals, November 25. 1742, &c.

dominions, accompanied by his son the Duke of Cumberland, and attended by Lord Carteret, as Secretary of State. In the preceding January a strong impulse had been given to the war, on the part of France, by the death of Cardinal Fleury in the ninetieth year of his age. His pacific policy died with him; and the hostilities which he had begun from compulsion were continued and extended from choice. The young King, selfish, indolent, and devoted to pleasure, took no part in public business; but the power of Fleury was shared between Count D'Argenson, Minister of War, an expert diplomatist, and Cardinal Tencin, a subtle insinuating priest, of considerable talents, but fitted for intrigues rather than for government, disgraced by some acts of fraud in early life*, and devoted to the House of Stuart, which had wrought his elevation to the Purple. His sister, Madame de Tencin, a nun who had renounced her convent, was celebrated for her wit and gallantries. Bolingbroke is said to have enjoyed her favours during his embassy at Paris; and at another period she became the mother—it would be most presumptuous to assert by whom—of D'Alembert, the well-known mathematician and philosophist. CHAP. XXV. 1743.

The French Ministers, eager to signalize themselves by a vigorous prosecution of the war, and excited by the unfavourable news that came from

* St. Simon Mém. vol. xx. p. 4. ed. 1829. Tencin resided at Rome in 1740, and is described by President des Brosses in his Travels, vol. ii. p. 79. and 86.

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Germany, collected a large army under the Mareschal Duke de Noailles, who had been distinguished in the Spanish campaigns, to support their other forces in the Empire. These forces, first commanded by Maillebois, and afterwards by De Broglie, had ceased to threaten Hanover, by their march for the relief of Prague. They had afterwards wintered in Northern Bavaria; and it was through their diversion that the Emperor Charles the Seventh was enabled to re-enter his capital. But in the spring of 1743 he was again defeated by the Austrians, and once more driven from his hereditary states; De Broglie being intent only on his own security, and restrained by his instructions from hazarding a battle. The unfortunate Emperor, whose exalted rank served but to sharpen the sting of his calamities, and to make them more conspicuous and deplorable, sought shelter in the free city of Frankfort; a Sovereign without any states to rule, nay, even without any revenues to maintain him! De Broglie, on his part, retreated in confusion from Bavaria, harassed by the Austrian cavalry, and sustaining heavy losses, until, on the banks of the Neckar, he received a reinforcement of 12,000 men from Noailles, and again attempted to keep Prince Charles of Lorraine in check.

During that time the British troops also were advancing into Germany, having begun their march from Flanders, at the end of February, under the command of the Earl of Stair. They were joined

on their march by some Austrian regiments, headed by the Duke of Aremberg, and by the 16,000 Hanoverians in British pay, who had wintered in the Bishoprick of Liege. But so tardy was their march, that it was the middle of May before they crossed the Rhine, and fixed their station at Hochst, between Mayence and Frankfort. Here Lord Stair determined to await the junction of the 6,000 Hanoverians in Electoral pay, and also of the same number of Hessian mercenaries, who had been employed in garrisoning the Flemish fortresses, but who were now relieved by an equal body of Dutch troops, and left at liberty to rejoin the main army. Even without any fresh accessions, however, Lord Stair could muster at Hochst nearly 40,000 soldiers, and might easily have seized the Emperor at Frankfort, had not the neutrality of that free city been scrupulously respected by both parties in this contest—or, to speak more truly, had not the seizure of the Emperor promised but small advantage. 1743.

The Mareschal de Noailles, on his part, whose army, even after the detachment sent to De Broglie, amounted to 60,000 men, likewise passed the Rhine, and approached the Mayn on the southern bank, as the British on the northern. The two camps were no more than four leagues distant from each other. Yet still, amidst these hostile manifestations, and an impending battle, the two nations nominally remained at peace, and only acted as

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auxiliaries: there was still a British Resident at Paris, and a French in London. "A ridiculous "situation!" writes Horace Walpole. "We have "the name of war with Spain without the thing, "and war with France without the name!"*

In the manœuvres that ensued, Lord Stair, whose military genius, never very bright, was rusted with age, appears to have committed blunder upon blunder. Having first determined to await the Hessians and Hanoverians, he suddenly altered his intentions, recalled the detachments which he had sent across the Mayn, and advanced up the course of that river on the right bank, with the view of drawing supplies from Franconia, and of communicating with the Austrian forces. He reached Aschaffenburg on the 16th of June, closely followed and completely out-generalled by Noailles. The French commander took up a strong position near Gross Ostheim, while his detachments occupied the principal fords and passes on both the Upper and Lower Mayn, so that the English found themselves cut off both from their own magazines at Hanau, and from the expected Franconian supplies. Moreover the duties and details of our Commissariat appear in that age to have been ill understood, or grossly neglected. "England, that is famous for negligence,"—says Marlborough in one of his letters.†

* To Sir H. Mann, July 19. 1743.

† To Lord Godolphin, September 2. 1702.

Under these circumstances, when on the 19th King George arrived from Hanover, with Lord Carteret and the Duke of Cumberland, he found affairs in a most critical posture; the soldiers on half rations, the horses pining for want of forage; Stair and Aremberg divided by a violent feud, and the army, reduced to 37,000 men, and cooped up in a narrow valley that runs between Mount Spessart and the Mayn, and extends along that river from the town of Aschaffenburg to the large village of Dettingen*, while in sight appeared a far superior force of French, ably commanded and well supplied, and in confident expectation that the allies must either surrender prisoners of war, or be cut to pieces in their retreat. The expected Hessians and Hanoverians, it appeared, had nearly reached Hanau, but so far from being able to advance and join, were themselves in peril of being taken by the French. Still, under every disadvantage and danger, the soldiers were full of spirits and eager to fight, and the presence of their King became a further incentive to their valour. CHAP. XXV. 1743.

After repeated councils of war, the only measure that seemed practicable was to fall back on the magazines and reinforcements at Hanau, and this resolution was hastened by so utter a failure of forage, that, had they remained but two days longer,

* The distance between Aschaffenburg and Dettingen is one and a half German or about eight English miles. Dettingen was then and is now the post station on the road from Aschaffenburg to Hanau, which is two German miles further.

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they must have sacrificed their horses.* The movement, however, was neither safe nor easy in the face of a superior enemy, quick at discerning and powerful to prevent the design. At the first signs of their intended retreat, Noailles immediately altered his own position from their front to their rear, advanced to Seligenstadt, threw two bridges over the Mayn, and sent his nephew, the Duke de Grammont, with 23,000 men across the river to secure the defile of Dettingen, through which the Allies must march. These troops were accordingly drawn up on very strong ground, while batteries were also raised along the opposite bank of the Mayn, and these precautions were the more dangerous, because in a great measure unknown to the English, who still believed the principal force of Noailles to be on the other side of Aschaffenburg.

Before day-break, on the morning of the 27th of June, the Allies struck their tents and began their march towards Dettingen in two columns. The King himself commanded the rear guard, which, from the ignorance of Noailles's movements, was considered the post of danger. But when they found their advanced posts repulsed from Dettingen, and beheld the French forces pouring over the bridge of the Mayn, they perceived that their front was chiefly threatened. Their columns were imme-

* "On manquait de fourrages au point qu'on proposa de "couper les jarrets aux chevaux, et on l'aurait fait si on était "resté encore deux jours dans cette position." Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV. ch. x.

diately halted, and the King, riding to the first ranks, drew up the army in order, the infantry before and the cavalry behind; its right extending to the slopes of the Spessart, and its left to the river. Their only hope lay in cutting their way through the French lines, yet these were strong as nature and skill could make them. The village of Dettingen, occupied by Noailles, was covered by a morass, and a ravine the bed of a small rivulet; and further reinforcements to support him were already in motion from the army of Noailles. The batteries on the other side of the Mayn began to play upon the British flank; behind them Aschaffenburg, which they had left, was already taken by a French division of 12,000 men: thus were they completely enclosed and hemmed in, and our military fame — the lives and liberties of our soldiers— nay even of our King—seemed already within our enemy's grasp!

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Happily at this decisive moment the Mareschal de Noailles left his post in the front and passed to the other bank of the Mayn, to give some further directions in that quarter. During his absence, the impetuous courage of the nephew marred the uncle's skilful policy. Grammont, burning to engage his adversaries, and believing that the force before him was only part of their army, which he might easily exterminate, ordered his troops to cross the ravine, thus quitting his vantage ground, and giving the Allies battle on equal terms. By this movement, also, the batteries on the other side

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of the Mayn, that were already mowing down whole ranks of English; were compelled to suspend their fire, lest it should strike their countrymen as much as their enemies. As the French approached, the horse of George the Second, frightened with the noise, ran away with His Majesty, and had nearly carried him into the midst of the enemy's lines, but was fortunately stopped in time.* The King then dismounted, and put himself at the head of the British and Hanoverian infantry at the right, flourishing his sword, and addressing the British in these words, "Now, boys, now for the "honour of England; fire and behave bravely, "and the French will soon run!" The Duke of Cumberland in like manner, as Major General, commanded the first line on the left. Yet, notwithstanding the bravery of their Royal leaders, and their own, the troops were thrown into some disorder by the first impetuous charge of the young French chivalry. The King, however, with admirable courage and coolness, made every exertion to retrieve this slight confusion, while the battle rapidly spread from flank to flank and became general along the line. The Duke of Cumberland, like his father, appeared in the hottest of the fight, displayed the highest courage, and even when wounded in the leg refused to quit the field.†

* Letter from Mr. Kendal, of Lord Ashburnham's troop.

† The great gallantry of the Duke of Cumberland in this battle is acknowledged by the French as well as English writers.

Noailles, who from the other side of the river had beheld the first motion of his troops with astonishment and grief, hastened over with all possible speed to give the needful directions; but on his arrival he found the tide of the battle already turned. The British and Hanoverians vied with each other in the most determined intrepidity; while the French, though no way inferior in gallantry, did not on this occasion display an equal steadiness, and were not, like them, inspirited by the presence and exertions of their King. The conduct of George in this conflict deserves the highest praise; and it was undoubtedly, through him and through his son, far more than through any of his generals, that the day was won. A dense mass of infantry formed and led by His Majesty in person, broke and scattered the enemy, whom they found exhausted by their own brave but imprudent onset. So dreadful a slaughter ensued in the French ranks, that Noailles, despairing of the day, and anxious only to prevent further havoc of his men, gave the signal of retreat across the Mayn. But this retreat speedily became a rout. Many of the French were cut down by their pursuers before they could reach the bridges; and the bridges becoming choked with the multitude of fugitives, many more plunged

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There is also an interesting story of his generous treatment of a wounded French officer; but to this the subsequent conduct of "the Butcher" makes it more difficult to give credit.

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into the river and were drowned. Others, again, turning in the opposite direction, and throwing down their arms, endeavoured to ascend the mountains to the right, and were taken prisoners without resistance. The fighting continued till four in the afternoon, and the King remained on the ground till ten at night. The loss of the French in killed and wounded was computed at 6000, including a large proportion of their officers, whose headlong valour strove during the engagement to repair the error it had caused at the commencement. It seemed only surprising how so many brave men could ever, under any circumstances, be defeated. The Allies on their part suffered severely, their loss being scarcely under 3,000 men. Both their Marshals, D'Aremberg and Stair, though eclipsed by their Royal master, well deserved his praise for intrepidity; the former was wounded in the shoulder, and Stair was eager to pursue the French in their retreat. But considering that so large a proportion of Noailles's army had not engaged and was still quite fresh; that the Allies were exhausted from their hard won victory, and from their insufficient supplies; that as one of their officers complains, "we had neither victuals, drink, "nor tents to lie in, after the work was done,"—the rash proposal of Stair was wisely overruled, and the troops after a few hours' halt continued their retreat to Hanau. They were compelled, however, to leave their wounded at the mercy of the French

commander, who treated them with signal generosity.* CHAP. XXV.

Such was the battle of Dettingen, the last in which a King of England has appeared at the head of his troops. In its circumstances it might, perhaps, not unaptly be compared to the battle fought by Napoleon, in 1813, against the Bavarians on the neighbouring ground of Hanau, except that on this last occasion the position of the French was inverted, and that they had to force instead of intercepting a passage. We may also observe that at Dettingen, superior as was the army of Noailles, yet from the French divisions at Aschaffenburg, and on the other side of the Mayn, the numbers actually engaged were most considerable on the side of the Allies. And, notwithstanding the glory 1743.

* The chief authorities for the battle of Dettingen are, Lord Carteret's despatch, June 20. 1743. O. S. and the other official accounts—Capt. Kendal's letter, published in the Gentleman's Magazine, July 1743—Coxe's Pelham, vol. i. p. 65—71.—House of Austria, vol. iii. p. 292—294.—Mémoires de Noailles, vol. v. p. 347—357. There was also published in England the same year, a pamphlet containing several other letters from officers and soldiers present at the battle, for the sake of those who "love truth and particulars" (p. 31.). The latter indeed are sufficiently minute, extending even to Lord Stair's loss of his hat, a few days before the action (p. 44.). It is almost as little worth while to notice that Frederick the Second, in his "Histoire "de Mon Temps," caricatures the conduct of the King in this battle, and represents him as standing all the time, with his sword drawn, in the attitude of a fencing master who is about to make a lunge in *carte!* We must remember that Frederick was not present—that he hated his cousin—and that he had never any regard for truth.

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which this battle sheds on both the British and the Hanoverian arms, we must own, that the good conduct of the troops was required by, and could scarcely retrieve, the blunders of the generals. A few weeks afterwards Voltaire met Lord Stair at the Hague, and took the liberty of asking him his opinion of the battle. "I think" replied the Earl, "that the French made one great mistake, "and the English two: your's, was not standing "still; our first, entangling ourselves in a most "perilous position, our second, failing to pursue "our victory." The latter project has been already mentioned as wild and rash, but the former complaint may, with great justice, be urged against Lord Stair himself, as the commander.*

At Hanau, the Allied army being joined by the expected reinforcements, and thus becoming nearly equal to the French, Lord Stair again proposed to pass the Mayn and attack the enemy. But several circumstances—his own hasty temper, and violent quarrel with the Hanoverian officers—the jealousy of the petty German Princes—the very delays and perplexities of consultation—tended to prevent a second battle; nor, indeed, was it necessary to the expulsion of the invaders from the Empire. For, De Broglie being closely pressed by Prince Charles, and giving way before him, was driven across the Rhine near Manheim; and Noailles, by this means, finding himself placed between two formidable

* Siècle de Louis XV. ch. x.

armies, determined on retreat, burned his magazines, and likewise passed the Rhine on the 17th of July, opposite Worms, from whence he and De Broglie withdrew to their own frontier on the Lauter, so that the whole of Germany was now freed from the French. CHAP. XXV. 1743.

It appears that De Broglie, who had already offended the Emperor by his refusal to defend Bavaria, sent him a message at this time, on the part of his Government, that the King of France could afford him no further assistance, and advised him to make peace with the Queen of Hungary. The unhappy Prince was then at Frankfort, without credit for even the common necessaries of life, and obliged to borrow 40,000 crowns from Noailles, who had come (as did also Lord Stair) to visit him after the battle. Yet, notwithstanding his destitute condition, he replied to De Broglie with becoming spirit, saying, that he never would be instructed how to make peace by those who were so ignorant how to make war!* In conformity with his suggestion however, he signed a neutrality for his own hereditary states, which were to remain in the Queen of Hungary's possession till the conclusion of a peace; and this peace he endeavoured to obtain through the mediation of George the Second, and by the agency of Prince William of Hesse. But Maria Theresa was by no means inclined to grant any moderate terms, aspiring

* Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 632.

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either to keep Bavaria, or extort the abdication of the Imperial Crown.* Moreover the Ministers in England, much incensed at Carteret's neglect, and want of consultation with them, resolutely declined to sanction or adopt the preliminaries agreed to between the King and the Emperor, more especially as these provided for a subsidy of 300,000 crowns to the latter. All the petty German objects of the day, as Chesterfield observes on another occasion, were to be paid in a few ducats, and a great many guineas!† Under such obstacles, the negotiation with Prince William was reluctantly abandoned by King George and Lord Carteret.

On the retreat of the French, the King's quarters at Hanau had become the scene, not merely of this negotiation, but of several Councils of War, which Prince Charles and Count Khevenhüller left the Austrian army to attend. An immediate invasion of France was planned and announced, and the public expectations, already excited by the victory of Dettingen, were wound up to the highest pitch. King George accordingly marched across the Rhine at the bridge of Mayence, and fixed his station at Worms, while Prince Charles, from Alt

* "The Queen of Hungary has proposed in form that she "should keep Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, and that the "Elector of Bavaria should in exchange have the kingdom of "Naples. . . . Lord Carteret treats it as impracticable, and has "sent strong orders upon it to Sir Thomas Robinson." Mr. Stone to the Earl of Harrington, July 31. 1743.

† To Mr. Dayrolles, September 15. 1752 Chesterfield's Works.

Breisach, seized a post on the left bank of the river. But these were almost their only achievements; each considering the season too far advanced, or the French too strong, for further operations. Moreover, the King's camp was distracted with jarring counsels and rival pretensions: Lord Stair, above all, complained with bitterness that his advice had been slighted; and he delivered to His Majesty an angry memorial, reflecting on past transactions, hinting at Hanoverian partialities, and asking permission to retire, as he expressed it, to his plough. His resignation was immediately accepted, not without some marks of the Royal displeasure at the language in which it was tendered.* Many other English officers, including the Duke of Marlborough, the second in command, immediately threw up their commissions in disgust, and with loud complaints of their Hanoverian rivals. Amidst such dissensions, at the close of the campaign the King returned to England, and his troops to their former station in Flanders.

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In Italy, as on the Rhine, the result of this campaign was far from fulfilling the expectations raised

* Mr. Stone to Lord Harrington, September 11. 1743. (Coxe's Pelham.) There was circulated among the officers at this time, a French dialogue on the battle of Dettingen, written perhaps by Stair himself, and certainly much in his style. Pierrot asks Harlequin, "*Que donne-t-on aux Généraux qui ne "se sont pas trouvés à la bataille?*" Harl. "*On leur donne le "cordon rouge.*" Pierr. "*Et que donne-t-on au Général en "chef qui a gagné la victoire?*" Harl. "*Son congé.*" Pierr. "*Qui a soin des blessés?*" Harl. "*L'ennemi.*"

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at its commencement. Montemar having been recalled on account of his former failure, the Queen of Spain had appointed as his successor Count de Gages, an officer of English extraction and long service. While stationed at Bologna in the winter, he received peremptory orders from his imperious mistress to give battle to the Austrians within three days, or else resign his command to another officer. Accordingly, marching forward, he engaged Count Traun on the 3d of February, at Campo Santo, and claimed a victory with the capture of some standards and artillery. Nevertheless he was soon afterwards compelled to fall back upon Rimini, and in the autumn towards the frontier of Naples, with an army reduced to 12,000 men. Tuscany, though subject to the Queen of Hungary's husband, remained unmolested under a treaty of neutrality which he had concluded. Savoy and the coast of Nice were exposed to several inroads and attacks from the Infant Don Philip, and some troops assembled in Dauphiny, but he was more than once repulsed, and found himself unable to force a passage.*

But before the close of the campaign, either in Germany or Italy, a treaty affecting both those countries was signed by King George at Worms, on the 13th of September. The contracting parties were England, Austria, and Sardinia. By this alliance the King of Sardinia undertook to assist the common cause with an army of 45,000 men,

* Muratori, Annal. d'Ital. vol. xii, p. 295 302.

and to renounce the pretensions which he had advanced to the Milanese; in return he was to be gratified with the supreme command of the Allied forces in Italy, whenever present in person,—with the cession of the Vigevenasco and other districts from Austria—and with a yearly subsidy of 200,000*l.* from England. Maria Theresa likewise consented to transfer to him her claim to the town and Marquisate of Finale, which had been mortgaged to the Genoese; and George the Second, besides his subsidy, stipulated to maintain a strong fleet in the Mediterranean. This treaty of Worms had been negotiated by Lord Carteret in submission to the Electoral wishes of the King, and with scarce any reference to the other Ministers in England; nevertheless, it being already concluded, they gave it a sullen acquiescence. But they absolutely refused to admit a separate and secret Convention agreed to at the same time and place, but not yet signed, and stipulating that Great Britain should pay the Queen of Hungary a subsidy of 300,000*l.* every year, not merely during the war, but so long "as the necessity of her affairs shall require;" and this Convention, accordingly, was never ratified nor publicly avowed.* CHAP. XXV. 1743.

It cannot fail to be perceived in all these negotiations that Carteret made every sacrifice of British

* Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Stone, October 14. 1743. (Coxe's Pelham.) He adds, "It is a most strange, unfair, unpardonable "proceeding in Lord Carteret; but what we must always ex- "pect from him."

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interests, and of his own popularity, in order to secure the personal favour of the King. He was sanguine of prevailing in the struggle between the rival parties in the Cabinet, which impended from the declining health of Lord Wilmington, and which came to an issue from the death of that statesman on the 2d of July. The two candidates for his succession were Pulteney and Pelham; the former supported by Carteret, the latter by the secret but still powerful influence of Walpole.*

The fallen Minister, judging of events with his usual sagacity and foresight, and looking round among the members of his former party, saw none but Henry Pelham qualified to undertake the direction of the Treasury, and the management of the House of Commons. Pelham himself, with characteristic timidity, shrunk from the dangerous preeminence, but was urged forward by the exhortations of Lord Orford, of his brother Newcastle, and of the Chancellor Hardwicke. At length, he had been prevailed upon to solicit the reversion of Wilmington's office, before the King went abroad: his application was secret; and the answer, by Orford's influence and advice, was a positive promise from His Majesty.

* The channel of communication between Lord Orford and the Court, was the house of Mr. Fowle, a Commissioner of Excise, in Golden Square. Late in the evenings Walpole used to meet there in secret the King's confidential page; the door being always opened and shut by Mr. Fowle himself; but his daughters sometimes peeped from the top of the stairs! See Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 733.

On the other hand the friends of Lord Bath perceived the fatal error he had committed, in not taking the Treasury on Walpole's resignation, and warned him not to be the bubble of his own reputation for consistency. Pulteney admitted the truth of their representations; he felt that it was a chimerical hope to direct public measures without holding any public appointment, and that declarations against office thrown out in the heat of debate, or in the bitterness of party struggles might, to promote his principles, be infringed without blame. Still however he wavered, and would make no application previous to Lord Wilmington's demise. But on that event he was persuaded to write a letter to Lord Carteret, to be laid before the King, stating the unanimous wishes of the Board of Treasury in his favour—expressing his own acquiescence—and soliciting the place. This letter he sent express to the Continent by a confidential servant of Sir John Rushout, his warm friend and one of the new Lords of the Treasury. CHAP. XXV. 1743.

This letter, and a renewed application from Mr. Pelham, reached His Majesty while he still remained at Hanau. For five weeks no decision was taken upon either. The formal answer to Pelham—that the King would make known his pleasure through Lord Carteret—was far from affording him an omen of success. Already did the faint resolution of Pelham begin to sink, and was only sustained by friendly exhortations from Houghton. "If" added Lord Orford, "you had taken the advice of a

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"fool, (meaning himself,) and been made Chan-
"cellor of the Exchequer, under Lord Wilmington,
"the whole had dropped into your mouth. Lost
"opportunities are not easily retrieved."* It may, therefore, be supposed with how much surprise and delight the Pelhams hailed a letter from Lord Carteret, dated the 16th of August, Old Style, in which by His Majesty's command he announced a decision in their favour. The tone of Carteret in this communication was manly and straightforward, yet not hostile; he avowed to Pelham that he had striven to the utmost against him, but added, "what could any-
"body in my circumstances do otherwise? If I had
"not stood by Lord Bath who could ever value my
"friendship, and would not you have despised me?
"However, as the affair is now decided in your
"favour by His Majesty, I wish you joy of it, and I
"will endeavour to support you as much as I can."†

Henry Pelham, when he became First Lord of the Treasury, was forty-seven years of age, and had been twenty-four in Parliament. His character was Walpole's in miniature. He had formed himself upon Sir Robert's model as nearly as his

* To Mr. Pelham, July 13. 1743. (Coxe's Pelham.)

† See this letter in Coxe's Pelham, vol. i. p. 85. In his Memoirs of Walpole, Mr. Coxe says, "it is more than probable "that before the return of Rushout's messenger, the King had "consulted the Earl of Orford." (p. 735.) This, however, appears to be disproved by Orford's confidential letters, as published in Coxe's subsequent work. Nor would it be easy to explain why the King should think it desirable to consult Lord Orford again, having before he left England received his opinion and advice on the very point at issue.

far inferior talents would allow, while his care and caution had restrained him from Walpole's more open defects. He differed, however, from his model in natural temper: far from the joyous good humour and buoyant courage of Walpole, Pelham was peevish and irritable; qualities which would have made him very unpopular amongst his party, had they not been usually kept down by an inborn timidity and dread of giving offence. From this difference of temper between the two Ministers, it followed that the love of power, in which both concurred, was manifested in opposite ways,—Sir Robert's by bearing none but mutes in the Cabinet; Mr. Pelham's by shrinking from any new opponent in the Commons. In the same proportion, however, as his abilities fell below his predecessor's, did they rise above his brother the Duke of Newcastle's. He had probity, industry, punctuality; he was a good speaker on points of business, and a good Minister for quiet times. He never incurred lavish expense, except when the King very particularly desired it; nor forsook his friends, but on extremely pinching questions. In short, we may place him in that large and respectable class of statesmen, whom contemporaries do right to keep in office, but whom posterity will seldom take the trouble to remember.

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The view of the King in preferring Pelham, besides his dislike of Bath and his regard for Orford, seems to have been that, since the Hanoverian

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troops, the foreign subsidies, and the dissensions of the Generals were likely to excite considerable clamours, it was absolutely requisite to secure the most powerful assistance in the House of Commons. At the same time, however, Carteret's favour and confidence in all foreign business continued unimpaired. Under these circumstances, the following was the advice of Pelham's old patron in Norfolk: "Gain time, strengthen yourself, and enter into no "hasty engagements."* Such a course was sufficiently agreeable to Pelham's natural caution. He made no rash or unnecessary alterations. He found places for his friend Henry Fox, and for Lord Middlesex, an adherent of the Prince of Wales. The Paymastership of the Forces, vacant by his own elevation, he bestowed on Winnington; and, requiring for himself the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, he gratified Sandys on his retirement with a peerage and a place in the Royal Household. And, when in the ensuing December, two Members of the Cabinet, Lords Gower and Cobham resigned from disgust, at finding that the Hanoverian troops were still to be continued, the Privy Seal was transferred to Lord Cholmondeley, although on this last occasion, Lord Bath strained his whole influence in favour of Lord Carlisle. It

* Lord Orford to Mr. Pelham, July 13. 1743. This was written in anticipation of the event. In a subsequent letter the veteran statesman and sportsman adds, "Whig it with all op-"ponents that will parly, but 'ware Tory!" August 25. 1743.

is remarkable, that, from the long tenure and exorbitant power of Walpole in government, the office he had filled at the head of the Treasury was now universally considered as that of the Prime Minister, whereas, previous to 1721, the main authority had often been vested in a Secretary of State.

Another advantage to Pelham, at this period, accrued from the death of two principal chiefs of the new Opposition, Lord Hervey and the Duke of Argyle. The brilliant parts of Hervey had been always checked by his feeble health, while the great name of Argyle was lowered by his rapid changes, and recent Jacobite connections. Leaving no male issue, Argyle was succeeded in his titles and estates by his brother, and of late his bitter enemy, the Earl of Isla. Never did such near kinsmen display less affinity of mind. With all his faults and follies, Argyle was still brave, eloquent, and accomplished, a skilful officer and a princely nobleman. Isla, on the contrary, was base and mean—"his heart is like his aspect, vile," says Hanbury Williams,—suspected of having betrayed Walpole at his fall*, I believe, unjustly, yet, seldom on any occasion, swayed either by gratitude or generosity.

* This charge is broadly urged by Sir C. Hanbury Williams, in a poem, from which the line above is taken (Works, vol. i. p. 28.); and it is more than once hinted by Horace Walpole in his letters. But I observe that Sir Robert himself attached no weight to it. See his warm letter of congratulation to Isla on his accession to the Dukedom. (Coxe's Walpole, vol. iii. p. 599.)

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The King and Lord Carteret having returned to England, the Parliament was opened on the 1st of
1743. December. The Opposition did not appear very formidable on common questions; thus, an attempt to put a negative on the Address of Thanks was rejected by 278 against 149. But, the unpopularity of Hanoverian troops and Sardinian subsidies armed them with extraordinary strength. Chesterfield and Pitt, above all, thundered against Carteret, as the author of these measures, and transferred to him most of the hard names which had so lately resounded against Walpole. On the very first night of the Session, Pitt denounced him as "an execrable, a sole Minister, who seems to "have drunk of the potion, which poets have "described, as causing men to forget their country."
1744. And on another occasion, after calling him "the "Hanover-troop-Minister"—"a flagitious task-"master"—"with the sixteen thousand Hano-"verians as his placemen, and with no other party;" in short, after he had exhausted invectives, he added, "But I have done; if he were present I "would say ten times more!"* In the same debate, a cousin of Lord Strange went even further—if that was possible—in violence; his own friend, George Grenville, called him to order; and we find even Mr. Yorke complaining of "the inconsi-"derate warmth of Stanley."*

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, January 24. 1744.

† Mr. P. Yorke's Journal, Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 464. It is added that "the scene could be compared to nothing but a "tumultuous Polish Diet."

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Motions against the Hanover troops and Hanover measures were now brought forward, night after night, in every variety of form. The arguments I need not recapitulate; they were nearly the same as in the previous session. On these points the Ministerial majorities were neither large nor willing, while the nation from without were loud in their expressions of resentment. It frequently happened that the toast of "No Hanoverian King" was proposed even in loyal companies, and the very name of Hanoverian became a byword of insult and reproach. Thus fraught with all but universal unpopularity, the question of the foreign troops had begun to scare even the most resolute members of the Cabinet. All except Carteret wavered. A letter is preserved from the Duke of Newcastle, in which he argues against the Hanoverian mercenaries, as strongly as he did for them a few months before and a few months after.* Mr. Pelham, as usual, was timorous; his fears were quickened by his brother's, and the measure would undoubtedly have been dropped but for the interposition of Lord Orford. This veteran statesman, on coming to town, most warmly deprecated such an insult (for so he deemed it,) to his Royal master: he used his authority over Pelham and his other partisans in the Cabinet—an authority that finally prevailed over their alarms. And though, hitherto, he had seldom appeared, and never spoken in the House of Lords, having re-

* To Lord Hardwicke, November 7. 1743.

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marked to his brother Horace that he had left his tongue in the House of Commons, yet on this occasion his eloquent voice was once more raised, beseeching their Lordships to forget their cavils and divisions and unite in affection round the throne.* It was solely owing to him that the torrent of public opposition was braved and overcome. "The whole world," says his son, "nay, the Prince himself, "allows that if Lord Orford had not come to town, "the Hanover troops had been lost."†

Whatever may be thought of the system of buying troops from Germany, "that great market of men," as Pitt emphatically called it in debate‡, we must own that it was no fit season to disband the army, when the perils of the war were rapidly thickening around us. The French Government, irritated by the Treaty of Worms, had, on their part, concluded at Fontainebleau an alliance offensive and defensive with Spain. They determined to send forth a superior army in the next campaign, with their young King at its head, and, instead of continuing the contest as auxiliaries, to issue a direct declaration of hostilities against both England and Austria; nay more, they were encouraged by the clamours against the Hanoverians, and the other symptoms of popular discontent in England, to undertake a Jacobite invasion—an attempt of which a full account shall presently be given. It was met, however, with

* See his speech at length, in Coxe's Memoirs, p. 738.

† H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, January 24. 1744.

‡ Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 468.

prompt resolution, both by the Ministry and by the Parliament. Several members of the Opposition—none more conspicuously than Pitt—laid aside, for the moment, their party animosities to withstand the common danger. The Duke of Marlborough, in spite of his recent resignation, hastened up to London, to move a loyal Address in the House of Peers. The Earl of Stair, forgetting his wrongs, offered his services in any station, and in return was graciously appointed Commander in Chief. It soon appeared,—a fact till lately incomprehensible to foreign nations—that the most ardent adversaries of the Minister might be among the most zealous subjects of the King. The high Tories and Jacobites, on their part, expecting that their cause would soon be decided by other weapons than words, prudently, for the most part, kept aloof from the debates. Supplies were voted to the amount of nearly 10,000,000*l.* including subsidies of 300,000*l.* to Austria, and 200,000*l.* to Sardinia. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, but only for two months. A Bill was brought in, from the ranks of Opposition, providing that the penalties on treasonable correspondence with the Pretender should extend to correspondence with his children. But on reaching the Upper House two additional clauses were proposed by the Lord Chancellor: one, to attaint the sons of the Pretender, in case they should attempt to land; and the other, to extend the penalties of the Act to the posterity of those who should be convicted under it, during the lifetime of both the young Pretenders.

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The former clause passed unanimously; but the latter, which tended to impose a cruel punishment on children for the offences of their fathers, was strenuously though ineffectually opposed by the Duke of Bedford and Lord Chesterfield in one House, by Mr. Pitt and Lord Strange in the other.

Out of Parliament the proceedings were not less vigorous. A proclamation was issued for putting the laws in force against Papists and Nonjurors. Lord Barrymore and Colonel Cecil were arrested and examined, but no material discoveries being made against them they were soon afterwards released.* Troops were directed by forced marches to the Southern coast, and an application was sent to the Dutch for the 6000 auxiliaries which they were bound by treaty to furnish in case of an invasion. Loyal addresses and protestations of service poured in from every quarter. Yet, with all this outward show, it appears that, in truth, no more than 7000 Englishmen, in arms, could be drawn together for the defence of the capital or any of the neighbouring counties; while, on the other hand, the Jacobite conspiracy was extensive, well laid, and ready to burst forth. The veteran brother of Sir Robert Walpole, whose

* The Earl of Barrymore, an Irish Peer, and a Member of the House of Commons in England, was at this time the oldest Lieutenant General in the service: he died in 1747, at the age of eighty. His fortune was great, but his temper penurious; in his political principles he was wholly devoted to the exiled family. See Mr. Yorke's Journal, Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 668. and Tindal's History, vol. ix. p. 27.

sagacity and zeal for the Protestant Succession are equally unquestionable, laments in private that, "I "see nothing but words stirring in the City, for the "support of the Government. I do not look upon "Addresses to carry with them powder and ball— "and I apprehend that the people may perhaps "look on and cry 'Fight dog! fight bear!' if they "do no worse!"* As it appears to me, the fate of England at this juncture hung suspended on the winds and the waves: had these not favoured us the cause of the Stuarts might, nay must, for a season have prevailed; but, as with the Spanish Armada, FLAVIT DEUS ET DISSIPANTUR!

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*, See Mr. Walpole's confidential letter to Mr. Trevor, March 3. 1744, in Coxe's Life of the former, p. 259.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

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EVER since the accession of Cardinal Tencin to power, the Jacobites had formed the most sanguine hopes of French support. His attachment to the House of Stuart—the favours it had bestowed upon him—his enterprising temper, as contrasted with the dilatory prudence of Fleury—the rancour excited by the progress of the war—these circumstances might well justify their expectations. Nor were they disappointed. The Cardinal immediately renewed the negotiation with the British exiles at Paris, which had greatly languished in the last year of Fleury's life, but which was still in the hands of Lord Sempill, and Drummond of Bohaldie. He also disposed the French Government in favour of the scheme, and found the King's mind, though indolent, yet well inclined to the Stuarts, as to his kinsmen, in whose veins as in his own ran the heroic blood of Henri Quatre. Nor were considerations of policy wanting, to show the French the importance of at least distracting the British from foreign affairs, and, if possible, placing a grateful ally upon their throne. Arrangements were, there-

fore, speedily in progress for an expedition to England, and a smaller one to Scotland, to be assisted by simultaneous risings in both countries. For these was needed the presence of the exiled Prince as their object and leader. But, as even the youth of James had never been remarkable for enterprise, and as he was latterly weighed down by age and disappointments, the hopes of his partisans had for some time rested on his son Prince Charles, then in the twenty-fourth year of his age, endowed by nature with many, and by their imaginations with all, great qualities. 1744.

Charles Edward Stuart is one of those characters that cannot be pourtrayed at a single sketch, but have so greatly altered, as to require a new delineation at different periods. View him in his later years, and we behold the ruins of intemperance—as wasted but not as venerable as those of time;—we find him in his anticipated age a besotted drunkard, a peevish husband, a tyrannical master,—his understanding debased, and his temper soured. But not such was the Charles Stuart of 1745! Not such was the gallant Prince full of youth, of hope, of courage, who, landing with seven men in the wilds of Moidart, could rally a kingdom round his banner, and scatter his foes before him at Preston and at Falkirk! Not such was the gay and courtly host of Holyrood! Not such was he, whose endurance of fatigue and eagerness for battle shone pre-eminent, even amongst Highland chiefs; while fairer critics proclaimed him the most winning in conversation, the most graceful in the dance! Can

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we think lowly of one who could acquire such unbounded popularity in so few months, and over so noble a nation as the Scots; who could so deeply stamp his image on their hearts that, even thirty or forty years after his departure, his name, as we are told, always awakened the most ardent praises from all who had known him,—the most rugged hearts were seen to melt at his remembrance,—and tears to steal down the furrowed cheeks of the veteran? Let us, then, without denying the faults of his character, or extenuating the degradation of his age, do justice to the lustre of his manhood.

The person of Charles—(I begin with this for the sake of female readers,)—was tall and well-formed; his limbs athletic and active. He excelled in all manly exercises, and was inured to every kind of toil, especially long marches on foot, having applied himself to field sports in Italy, and become an excellent walker.* His face was strikingly handsome, of a perfect oval and a fair complexion; his eyes light blue; his features high and noble. Contrary to the custom of the time, which prescribed perukes, his own fair hair usually fell in long ringlets on his neck. This goodly person was enhanced by his graceful manners; frequently condescending to the most familiar kindness, yet always shielded by a regal dignity, he had a peculiar talent to please and to persuade, and never failed to adapt his

* Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides, p. 231. ed. 1785.

conversation to the taste or to the station of those whom he addressed. Yet he owed nothing to his education: it had been entrusted to Sir Thomas Sheridan, an Irish Roman Catholic, who has not escaped the suspicion of being in the pay of the British Government, and at their instigation betraying his duty as a teacher. I am bound to say that I have found no corroboration of so foul a charge. Sheridan appears to me to have lived and died a man of honour; but History can only acquit him of base perfidy by accusing him of gross neglect. He had certainly left his pupil uninstructed in the most common elements of knowledge. Charles's letters, which I have seen amongst the Stuart Papers, are written in a large, rude, rambling hand like a school-boy's. In spelling they are still more deficient. With him "humour", for example, becomes UMER; the weapon he knew so well how to wield, is a SORD; and, even his own father's name appears under the alias of GEMS. Nor are these errors confined to a single language: who—to give another instance from his French—would recognize a hunting-knife in COOTO DE CHAS? I can, therefore, readily believe that, as Dr. King assures us, he knew very little of the History or Constitution of England.* But the letters of Charles, while they prove his want of education, no less clearly display his natural powers, great energy of character, and great warmth of heart. Writing confiden-

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* Anecdotes of his own Time, p. 201.

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tially, just before he sailed for Scotland, he says, "I made my devotions on Pentecost Day, recommending myself particularly to the Almighty on this occasion to guide and direct me, and to continue to me always the same sentiments, which are, rather to suffer any thing than fail in any of my duties."* His young brother, Henry of York, is mentioned with the utmost tenderness; and, though on his return from Scotland he conceived that he had reason to complain of Henry's coldness and reserve, the fault is lightly touched upon, and Charles observes that, whatever may be his brother's want of kindness, it shall never diminish his own.† To his father, his tone is both affectionate and dutiful: he frequently acknowledges his goodness; and, when at the outset of his great enterprise of 1745, he entreats a blessing from the Pope, surely, the sternest Romanist might forgive him for adding, that he shall think a blessing from his parent more precious and more holy still.‡ As to his friends and partisans, Prince Charles has been often accused of not being sufficiently moved by their sufferings, or grateful for their services. Bred up

* Second letter of June 12. 1745. See Appendix.

† Letter to his father, December 19. 1746. Appendix.

‡ Letter of June 12. 1745. Appendix. James on his part writes to his son with warm affection, many of his letters beginning with the Italian name of endearment, "My dearest Carluccio." —But my remarks apply no further than July 1747, when the nomination of Henry as a Cardinal—a measure most injurious to the Stuart cause, and carefully concealed till the last moment from his brother, so as to prevent his remonstrances—produced an almost complete estrangement between Charles and his family.

amidst monks and bigots, who seemed far less afraid of his remaining excluded from power, than that on gaining he should use it liberally, he had been taught the highest notions of prerogative and hereditary right. From thence he might infer, that those who served him in Scotland did no more than their duty—were merely fulfilling a plain social obligation, and were not, therefore, entitled to any very especial praise and admiration. Yet, on the other hand, we must remember how prone are all exiles to exaggerate their own desert, to think no rewards sufficient for it, and to complain of neglect, even where none really exists; and moreover that, in point of fact, many passages from Charles's most familiar correspondence might be adduced to show a watchful and affectionate care for his adherents. As a very young man, he determined that he would sooner submit to personal privation than embarrass his friends by contracting debts.* On returning from Scotland he told the French Minister, d'Argenson, that he would never ask any thing for himself, but was ready to go down on his knees to obtain favours for his brother exiles.† Once, after lamenting some divisions and misconduct amongst his servants, he declares that, nevertheless, an honest man is so highly to be prized that, "unless your Majesty orders me, I should part

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* "I never love to owe, but, on the contrary, I will deprive "myself of little conveniences rather than run in debt." Letter, June 1. 1744. Stuart Papers.

† Letter of Dec. 19. 1746. Appendix.

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"with them with a sore heart."* Nay more, as it appears to me, this warm feeling of Charles for his unfortunate friends survived almost alone, when, in his decline of life, nearly every other noble quality had been dimmed and defaced from his mind. In 1783 Mr. Greathed, a personal friend of Mr. Fox, succeeded in obtaining an interview with him at Rome. Being alone with him for some time, the English traveller studiously led the conversation to his enterprise in Scotland. The Prince showed some reluctance to enter upon the subject, and seemed to suffer much pain at the remembrance; but Mr. Greathed, with more of curiosity than of discretion, still persevered. At length, then, the Prince appeared to shake off the load which oppressed him; his eye brightened, his face assumed unwonted animation; and he began the narrative of his Scottish campaigns with a vehement energy of manner, recounting his marches, his battles, his victories, and his defeat, his hair-breadth escapes, and the inviolable and devoted attachment of his Highland followers, and at length proceeding to the dreadful penalties which so many of them had subsequently undergone. But the recital of their sufferings appeared to wound him far more deeply than his own: then, and not till then, his fortitude forsook him, his voice faltered, his eye became fixed, and he fell to the floor in convulsions. At the noise, in rushed the Duchess of

* Letter of January 16. 1747. See Appendix.

Albany, his illegitimate daughter, who happened to be in the next apartment. "Sir," she exclaimed to Mr. Greathed, "what is this! you must have "been speaking to my father about Scotland and "the Highlanders! No one dares to mention "these subjects in his presence."* CHAP. XXVI. 1744.

Once more, however, let me turn from the last gleams of the expiring flame to the hours of its meridian brightness.—In estimating the abilities of Prince Charles, I may first observe that they stood in most direct contrast to his father's. Each excelled in what the other wanted. No man could express himself with more clearness and elegance than James: it has been said of him that he wrote better than any of those whom he employed†; but, on the other hand, his conduct was always deficient in energy and enterprise. Charles, as we have seen, was no penman; while in action—in doing what deserves to be written, and not in merely writing what deserves to be read—he stood far superior. He had some little experience of war, (having, when very young, joined the Spanish army at the siege of Gaeta‡, and distinguished himself on that occasion,) and he loved it as the birthright both of a Sobieski and a Stuart. His quick intelligence, his promptness of decision, and his contempt of danger, are recorded on unquestionable testimony. His talents as a leader

* Scottish Episcopal Magazine, vol. ii. p. 177. and Chambers' History of the Rebellion of 1745. vol. ii. p. 321.

† See Macpherson's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 225.

‡ Muratori, Annal. d'Ital. vol. xii. p. 207.

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probably never rose above the common level; yet, in some cases in Scotland, where he and his more practised officers differed in opinion, it will I think appear that they were wrong and he was right. No knight of the olden time could have a loftier sense of honour; indeed he pushed it to such wild extremes, that it often led him into error and misfortune. Thus, he lost the battle of Culloden in a great measure because he disdained to take advantage of the ground, and deemed it more chivalrous to meet the enemy on equal terms. Thus, also, his wilful and froward conduct at the peace of Aix La Chapelle proceeded from a false point of honour, which he thought involved in it. At other times, again, this generous spirit may deserve unmingled praise: he could never be persuaded or provoked into adopting any harsh measures of retaliation; his extreme lenity to his prisoners, even to such as had attempted his life, was, it seems, a common matter of complaint among his troops*; and, even when encouragement had been given to his assassination, and a price put upon his head, he continued most earnestly to urge that in no possible case should "the Elector," as he called his rival, suffer any personal injury or insult. This anxiety was always present in his mind. Mr. Forsyth, a gentleman whose description of Italy is far the best that has appeared, and whose scrupulous accuracy and superior means of information will be acknowledged by all travellers, relates how only

* Capt. Daniel's Narrative, MS.

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a few years after the Scottish expedition, Charles, relying on the faith of a single adherent, set out for London in an humble disguise, and under the name of Smith. On arriving there, he was introduced at midnight into a room full of conspirators whom he had never previously seen. "Here," said his conductor, "is the person you "want," and left him locked up in the mysterious assembly. These were men who imagined themselves equal, at that time, to treat with him for the throne of England. "Dispose of me, gentlemen, "as you please," said Charles; "my life is in your "power, and I therefore can stipulate for nothing. "Yet give me, I entreat, one solemn promise that "if your design should succeed, the present family "shall be sent safely and honourably home."* 1744.

Another quality of Charles's mind was great firmness of resolution, which pride and sorrow afterwards hardened into sullen obstinacy. He was likewise, at all times, prone to gusts and sallies of anger, when his language became the more peremptory from a haughty consciousness of his adversities. I have found among his papers a note without direction, but no doubt intended for some tardy officer: it contained only

* Forsyth's Italy, p. 587. Geneva ed. He is, however, mistaken as to the date of this journey, which was undoubtedly September 1750. See King's Anecdotes, p. 196. There seems to have been another such conspiracy two years afterwards. A medal, in my possession, has on one side Prince Charles's head, and on the other the inscription, LÆTAMINI CIVES, SEPT. XXIII. MDCCLII. This date, there is reason to conjecture, refers to Charles having declared himself a Protestant.

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these words: "I order you to execute my orders, "or else never to come back." Such hasrhness might, probably, turn a wavering adherent to the latter alternative. Thus, also, his public expressions of resentment against the Court of France, at different periods, were certainly far more just than politic. There seemed always swelling at his heart a proud determination that no man should dare to use him the worse for his evil fortune, and that he should sacrifice any thing or every thing sooner than his dignity.

Such is, I conceive, a true and impartial portrait of Prince Charles, as he departed from Rome, and as he arrived in Scotland. I shall afterwards have occasion to explain some of the causes that ere long impaired the merits and darkened the shades of his character; and, at this place, it only remains for me to touch upon some features, inconsistent with the portrait I have drawn, but resting, as I think, on no sufficient evidence. "He was a miser," says Dr. "King. I have known him, with two thousand louis- "d'ors in his strong box, pretend he was ingreat "distress, and borrow money from a lady in Paris "who was not in affluent circumstances. His most "faithful servants were ill rewarded."* .... First, it should be remembered that the testimony of Dr. King is very far from impartial to the Stuarts; he was that worst of all enemies, a former friend. If the facts of his story be truly stated, and his authority, though not impartial, is yet, I own, of no inconsiderable

* Anecdotes of his own Time, p. 202.

weight—they will certainly admit of no defence. But as to the charge of avarice in general, and of sparing rewards to his servants, I may observe that for the sake of the exiles themselves, and with a view to their certain and complete relief, it was surely better for Charles to be thrifty of his means, and to collect money for the execution of one great enterprise, rather than to scatter it in vague and casual acts of bounty.

"But he was a coward!" Such is the language of those who love to trample on the fallen, and to heap imputations upon him whom fortune has already overwhelmed. When Lochiel, Lord George Murray, and so many other brave men so often censured Charles as rash, and checked his headlong eagerness for battle, can it be doubted that he equalled (for none could exceed) them in bravery? But who are they that assert the contrary? Helvetius, the French philosophist, whose house at Paris was for some time Charles's residence, told David Hume that the Prince was utterly faint-hearted, insomuch that when the expedition to Scotland was in preparation, it had been necessary to carry him on ship-board by main force, bound hand and foot.* Now, on the contrary, there are no facts in all history better attested than that, throughout his stay in France, Charles warmly pressed the expedition against many of his friends, who wished to await a more favourable opportunity, and that, in Scotland, it was solely his earnest

* Letter from Hume to Dr. Pringle, February 13. 1773, Mémoires Secrets de Dubois, vol. i. p. 139.

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persuasion that prevailed upon the first Highlanders to rise. The documents which have since appeared not only establish these facts in the clearest manner, but must tend, by subverting the testimony of Helvetius on one point, to render it worthless on all others.*

But the cowardice of Charles is also asserted by the Chevalier Johnstone, an officer of his own army. This, at first sight, may appear unimpeachable authority. The keener eyes, however, of Sir Walter Scott, and other Scottish antiquaries, have discovered that Johnstone, in other parts of his narrative, shows himself quite unworthy of credit. Thus a most minute and circumstantial story, which he ascribes to Gordon of Abbachie, is proved to be in all its parts an utter fiction. Thus, again, his own private circumstances are found to be in some respects the very opposite from what he represents them.† After such detections, I can only value Johnstone's Memoirs for their military criticisms and remarks, but shall never admit them as sufficient evidence for facts. The complaints of men who in their vanity think their services slighted, or the calumnies of those who forsake, and then, to excuse their forsaking, slander the defeated, are always too readily welcomed by contemporary rancour. But there is I believe no higher duty—I am sure there is no greater pleasure—in history, than to vindicate the memory of a gallant and unfortunate enemy.

* See this argument more fully urged in a note to Waverley, vol. ii. p. 272. revised ed.

† See the Quarterly Review, No. lxxi. p. 211.

Early in the summer of 1743, Cardinal Tencin wrote to the old Pretender, urging that Prince Charles should at once proceed from Rome to France, so as to be ready to take the command of the intended expedition whenever that should be prepared. The answer of James, however, far more sagaciously points out, that his son's journey should rather be deferred till those preparations were completed, as it would otherwise serve to put the British Government upon its guard, and induce it to adopt more active measures of defence.* Accordingly, the previous step was to draw together 15,000 veterans at Dunkirk, to be commanded, under Charles, by the Mareschal de Saxe, an illegitimate son of the late King of Poland, and at that time the most skilful and intrepid officer in the French service: a large number of transports for the descent were collected in the Channel, and a fleet of eighteen sail of the line, for their protection, was ready to sail from the harbours of Rochefort and Brest. Notice of these equipments, and of their state of forwardness, being duly sent to Rome, James, on the 23d of December 1743, put his name to several important acts—a proclamation to the British people, to be published on the landing—and a Commission, declaring the Prince, his son, Regent, with full powers in his absence.† On the

* See this letter in the Appendix: it is dated June 27. 1743; the day of Dettingen.

† See these papers in the Collection of the Declarations and other State Papers of the Insurgents at Edinburgh. Reprinted 1749.

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same day he likewise signed a patent to secure, rather than to reward, the doubtful fidelity of Lord Lovat, by naming him Duke of Fraser, and the King's Lieutenant in all the counties north of Spey.*

Thus prepared, and full of hope and ardour, Charles took leave of his father, and set out from Rome on the night of the 9th of January 1744, on the pretence of a hunting expedition, and afterwards in the disguise of a Spanish courier. He was attended only by a single servant, a faithful groom, who personated a Spanish secretary. Both the King of Sardinia by land, and Admiral Mathews by sea, were eager if they could to intercept him; but so skilfully were his measures taken, that his departure remained a secret even to his younger brother during several days.† Travelling day and night, he reached Savona, and, embarking in a small vessel, ran through the British fleet at great risk of being captured, but arrived safe at Antibes. From thence he pursued his journey, riding post, with such speed as to enter Paris on the 20th of the same month—the very day on which the pretended King at Rome publicly, at his own table, announced his son's departure, and received the congratulations of his family.

An interview with the King of France was now eagerly solicited by Charles, but in vain; and it is

* See Lord Lovat's Trial, 1747, p. 24.

† These singular measures of precaution are fully detailed in a secret letter of intelligence, sent to the British Government, and dated January 25. 1744; it will be found in my Appendix.

remarkable, that he was never admitted to the Royal presence, until after his return from Scotland*. He held, however, repeated conferences with the Earl Marischal, and Lord Elcho; the former his avowed, the latter his secret adherent. He then hastened from Paris to direct the intended expedition, and took up his residence at Gravelines, where he lived in strict privacy, under the name of the Chevalier Douglas, and with only Bohaldie attending him as secretary. It was from thence that his eyes, for the first time, greeted the white cliffs of that island, which he believed himself born to rule, and was destined so soon to invade. What visions of glory and empire may then have floated before him, and seemed to settle on the distant British hills! How little could the last heir and namesake of the martyred Charles at that time foresee that he should be even more unhappy, because self-degraded, and unlamented in his end!

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The letters of Charles, at this period, to his father give a lively picture of his close concealment:—"The situation I am in is very particular, for "nobody knows where I am, or what is become "of me; so that I am entirely buried as to the "public, and cannot but say that it is a very great "constraint upon me, for I am obliged very often

* Tindal alleges an interview (vol. ix. p. 21.), and he is followed by all the later writers; but the Stuart Papers seem to prove the contrary. James writes to Mr. O'Bryen, August 11. 1745,—"Depuis que le Prince était en France, il a été tenu "guère moins que prisonnier; on ne lui a pas permis d'aller à "l'armée, et il n'a même jamais vu le Roi."

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"not to stare out of my room for fear of some-
"body's noting my face. I very often think that
"you would laugh very heartily, if you saw me
"going about with a single servant, buying fish
"and other things, and squabbling for a penny
"more or less!" And again: "Everybody is
"wondering where the Prince is: some put him
"in one place, and some in another, but nobody
"knows where he is really; and sometimes he
"is told news of himself to his face, which is very
"diverting."—"I have every day large packets
"to answer, without any body to help me but
"Maloch (Bohaldie). Yesterday I had one that
"cost me seven hours and a half."* About this time, however, the Prince received a visit from Lord Marischal, who intended to join the expedition to Scotland, but was informed by Charles that it was deferred until that to England had sailed.

Meanwhile the squadrons at Brest and Rochefort had combined, and, led by Admiral Roquefeuille, were already advancing up the British Channel. Our fleet had, till lately, lain anchored at Spithead: it consisted of twenty-one ships of the line; and its commander was Sir John Norris, an officer of much experience, but whose enterprise, it is alleged, was quenched by age. He had now steered round to the Downs, where, as Captain of Deal Castle, he had long been well acquainted with the coasts, and

* To his father, April 3. April 16. and March 6. 1744. Stuart Papers.

where, being joined by some more ships from Chatham, he found his force considerably greater than the French. Roquefeuille, by this time, had come abreast of the Isle of Wight, and, perceiving no ships left at Spithead, rashly adopted the conclusion that they had all sought shelter within Portsmouth Harbour. Under this belief, he dispatched a small vessel to Dunkirk, to urge that the expedition should take place without delay, a direction which was cheerfully complied with. Seven thousand of the troops were at once embarked in the first transports, the Prince and the Mareschal de Saxe in the same ship, and they had put out to sea, while Roquefeuille, proceeding on his voyage, was already at an anchor off Dungeness. CHAP. XXVI. 1744.

At this critical moment the British fleet, having advanced against Roquefeuille, anchored within two leagues of him, so that the Downs and Isle of Thanet were, for the time, left open to invasion. The French fleet might have been attacked with every advantage, and almost certain prospect of not only their defeat, but their destruction; but though a good officer Norris was no Nelson; and, considering the state of the tide, and the approach of night, resolved to defer the battle till next morning. Next morning, however, the French fleet was gone. Roquefeuille seeing the very great superiority of his opponent, and satisfied with having made some diversion for the transports, had weighed anchor in the night, and sailed back towards the French harbours. Next day a dread-

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ful tempest, which greatly damaged his ships, protected them, however, from any pursuit of Norris.

But the same storm proved fatal to the transports. It blew—as was observed in London on the same day—directly on Dunkirk*, and with tremendous violence: some of the largest ships, with all the men on board, were lost; others were wrecked on the coast; and the remainder were obliged to put back to the harbour with no small injury. For some time Charles hoped to renew the attempt; but the French Ministers were discouraged, and the French troops diminished, by this disaster. The Mareschal de Saxe was appointed to the command in Flanders, the army withdrawn from Dunkirk, and the expedition relinquished.

Under these mortifying circumstances Charles, not yet losing hope, sent a message to Lord Marischal to repair to him at Gravelines, and proposed that they should engage a small fishing vessel and proceed together to Scotland, where he said he was sure he had many friends who would join him. This bold scheme—yet scarcely bolder than that which Charles put in execution a year

* "There have been terrible winds these four or five days . . . "we hope to hear that these storms, which blew directly on Dun- "kirk, have done great damage to their transports. By the "fortune of the winds, which have detained them in port, we "have had time to make preparations: if they had been ready "three weeks ago, when the Brest squadron sailed, it had all "been decided. We expect the Dutch in four or five days." H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, March 1. 1744. But the first division of the Dutch did not arrive till the 18th. (Tindal's Hist. vol. ix. p. 25.)

later, and far better timed as to the preparations of his party—was strenuously opposed by Lord Marischal, and at length reluctantly abandoned by Charles. The Prince's next wish was, to join the French army in the ensuing campaign, a project which was in like manner withstood and finally baffled by the Scottish nobleman. On this last occasion Charles wrote to his father in terms of high resentment against Lord Marischal.* It certainly is no matter of blame to a young Prince if he ardently pants for warlike distinction; but on the other hand, Lord Marischal was undoubtedly most kind, judicious, and far-sighted in preventing him from entering the French ranks against his own countrymen, where his restoration was not concerned, and thereby heaping a needless unpopularity upon his head. CHAP. XXVI. 1744.

As another instance how rife were divisions and animosities amongst those who had every motive to remain united, it may be mentioned that Charles had, at first, neglected to summon the Duke of Ormond from his retirement at Avignon, to embark with the intended expedition. Ormond, it is true, was now an octogenarian, and his exertions even in his prime were little worth; but his name and popularity in England had long been a tower of strength. The Prince perceived his error when too late, and hastily wrote to the Duke pressing him to join the armament, and Ormond accordingly set out; but, receiving intelligence upon the road that the de-

* Letter, May 11. 1744. Stuart Papers.

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sign had already miscarried, returned to his residence.

Disappointed in all projects of immediate action, whether in England, in Scotland, or in Flanders, Charles now returned to Paris. He received a message from the King directing him to remain concealed; accordingly, he writes to his father:—"I "have taken a house within a league of this town, "where I am like a hermit."* But in a little while the zeal and loquacity of his adherents betrayed his presence; so that, as is observed by himself, "at last my being in Paris was LE SECRET "DE LA COMEDIE."† At some intervals, accordingly, he was allowed to live privately in the capital, but at others, he found it necessary to retire to FitzJames, the seat of the Duke of Berwick, where he sought recreation in field sports.‡ During all this time he carried on an active correspondence with his Scottish partisans, whom he soon perceived to be greatly superior in zeal and determination to his English. "The truth of the matter is," says he at a later period, "that our friends in England

* Letter, June 1. 1744. Stuart Papers.

† To his father, November 16. 1744.

‡ He writes to Mr. Edgar, January 16. 1745.—"I am going "in two or three days to my country-house, where I shall be at "full liberty to have the spleen. It is now two months since I "have not handled a gun, because of the bad weather and cold, "for which I should be called *Cacciatore di Panbianco* by the "Duke, if he knew it, in revenge for my calling him so formerly. As soon as I am arrived at Fitz-James, I intend to "begin again to shoot, but not when it rains. You will see by "this, that according as one advances in years, one gets reason! "Adieu."

"are afraid of their own shadow, and think of little "else but of diverting themselves; otherwise, we "should not want the King of France."* During the last two years his adherents in the North had employed, as their principal agent, Mr. John Murray, of Broughton, a gentleman of birth and property, whom they knew to be active and able, and believed courageous and trusty; and this person being dispatched to Paris in the summer of 1744, held frequent conferences with Charles. In these the Prince appeared sanguine of French assistance, but declared himself willing to go to Scotland though he brought but a single footman!† CHAP. XXVI. 1744.

The invasion of England had not been the sole object of the armaments at Dunkirk and at Brest; the French were equally desirous of striking a decisive blow upon the naval resources and reputation of Great Britain. With this view the fleet at Toulon, consisting partly of French, partly of Spanish vessels, was likewise directed to sail from that harbour, and to risk an engagement with Admiral Mathews. The two fleets met off Toulon on the 22d of February, New Style; the British vessels were the more numerous, but in worse condition from the length of time they had kept the sea, and a deadly feud rankled between Mathews and Lestock, the first and second in command. Mathews, with his own division, attacked the Spanish squa-

* To his father, February 21. 1745.

† Examination of Mr. Murray of Broughton, August 13. 1746. See Appendix.

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dron very gallantly, himself bearing down upon the Spanish flag-ship, a vessel of 114 guns. Lestock during this time kept aloof, withheld, as Mathews alleged, from motives of personal envy; as himself declared, from the confused and doubtful signals of his chief. When night parted the combatants, the Spaniards had suffered severely; their Admiral's ship was shattered to a mere wreck: the Royal Philip was disabled; and the Poder, after being taken and retaken, was finally burnt by the English. Next day, the combined squadrons, retiring in disorder, Lestock, with his division, gave them chace, and was followed by the whole fleet; but, just as he was in hopes of coming up with the enemy, Mathews gave the signal to cease from pursuit; a measure difficult to explain from any other causes than jealousy and resentment. Lestock was moreover treated with great personal harshness by his superior officer, suspended from his command and sent for trial to England, where, however, Mathews himself was speedily summoned to answer for his conduct. After some proceedings in the House of Commons, there ensued a Court Martial, and a most protracted and wearisome inquiry: the result being at last, that Lestock was honourably acquitted, and Mathews declared incapable of serving His Majesty in future. The Spaniards, on their part, accused the French, though unjustly, of having deserted them in the engagement, and, as unjustly, claimed for themselves the honour of the day, decorating their Admiral

Don Joseph Navarro, with the pompous title of Marquis de La Victoria.* CHAP. XXVI. 1744.

The naval designs of the French Government, and their reported reception of the young Pretender, contrary to the stipulations of treaties, were loudly complained of by Mr. Thompson, who was still British Resident at Paris. His representations, however, were met by haughty answers, and terminated by a public declaration of war, issued by France in the month of March, and couched in most offensive terms.†

About the middle of May, King Louis took the field in person, on the side of Flanders, with De Saxe for his general, with 80,000 effective men for his army. The Allies had undertaken to have 75,000 in that quarter; but, so grievously had the Dutch and Austrians failed in their contingents, that the whole united force did not exceed 50,000. Besides, the British commander, Marshal Wade, though a respectable officer, was ill qualified to cope with the practised skill and daring energy of Saxe. He might also complain that the Dutch and Austrian generals impeded all his measures—as they once had Marlborough's—by their jarring and jealous counsels; and he had not Marlborough's high serenity of temper and gift of patience—"patience," says that great man, "that will overcome all things,‡"—to support him. Thus the French, feebly opposed

* Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain, vol. iii. p. 346.

† See this declaration and the counter one of England in Tindal's Hist. vol. ix. p. 28—32.

‡ Duke of Marlborough to Lord Godolphin, July 13. 1702.

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by inferior and divided adversaries, reduced within six weeks Courtray, Menin, Ypres, Fort Knoque, and Furnes, and spread alarm to the inmost provinces of Holland. But, in July, their progress was arrested by the tidings, that another Austrian army had suddenly burst into Alsace.

Prince Charles of Lorraine had with great promptitude drawn together a considerable force at Heilbronn, and with great skill passed the Rhine near Philipsburg in the very face of the enemy, from whence, at the head of 60,000 men, he forced the lines of the Lauter, and drove the French before him to the ramparts of Strasburg. To avert the threatened danger Louis the Fifteenth resolved to march in person, with half his army, leaving the rest, under De Saxe, to maintain their ground. This would have been the moment for the Allies in Flanders to undertake some important operation; but discord and inefficiency were still the bane of their councils, and their campaign closed as it had begun without enterprise or glory.*

The French King had been but little inured to the fatigues of the field, and had sought to alleviate them by the pleasures of the table.† He had advanced as far as Metz on his march to Alsace, when he was seized with a violent fever, which increased so rapidly that, in a few days, his life was despaired of. The news reached Paris in the middle of the night; immediately the Queen and Royal Family hastened away to the scene of danger, and

* Lord Hardwicke to the Duke of Newcastle, August 16. 1744.

† Tindal's Hist. vol. ix. p. 74.

arrived just when the King's illness had taken a favourable turn. But the general grief and consternation in the capital can scarcely be described. The cry was, "If he dies it will be from "marching to our defence." The churches were opened at midnight, and prayers offered for His Majesty's recovery; but the voices of the priests were often overpowered by their own emotion, or lost amidst the rising sobs of a loyal and afflicted people; and, when the tidings of the King's convalescence came, the messenger who brought them was embraced and nearly stifled by rejoicing crowds: his very horse was covered with kisses, and led in triumph through the streets.* Such feelings are the more remarkable, as flowing from duty and principle rather than from gratitude. Louis had, hitherto, done nothing for the welfare of his subjects, and seldom even bestowed a thought upon them except as instruments of his pleasures: he was selfish and cold-hearted, incapable of friendship, but always blindly governed by some female favourite. In his illness, however, he discerned the error of his ways, and hearkened to the voice of priestly admonition; he dismissed his reigning mistress Madame de Chateauroux, and declared that if Providence spared his life he should henceforth devote it to the good of his people. Almost every man, when sick, forms an earnest resolution of amendment and his progress in recovery may be accurately traced, day after day, by the slackening of his good intentions. And so it proved with

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* Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV. ch. xii.

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Louis. As he grew in strength he recalled his former mistress, and sunk back to his old voluptuous indolence. And thus it happened in the course of time, and by the progress of misgovernment, that the surname of LE BIEN AIMÉ which he justly obtained from such signal signs of popular affection, has become a byword of derision whenever coupled with his name. "The French King," says Chesterfield only eight years afterwards, "is "both hated and despised, which seldom happens "to the same man."*

During the King's illness at Metz there came a diversion to Alsace, still more effectual than he could have afforded had he remained in health. Frederick of Prussia had for some time viewed with jealousy the rapid successes and reviving power of the Austrians, and apprehended that a restoration of Silesia would become the aim of their ambition. He had, indeed, pledged himself to Maria Theresa, both by public treaties and private promises, but his liberal mind was emancipated from any such narrow prejudices, as to speak the truth or to keep his word. Resolved to renew hostilities, he had lately negotiated at Frankfort an engagement with the Emperor, and now broke into Bohemia at the head of 60,000 soldiers, while Moravia was invaded by another division of his army. On the 16th of September he reduced Prague, after a ten days' siege, making the garrison, no less than 15,000 men, prisoners of war. Encouraged by his example, the Imperial troops, under Marshal Seckendorf, entered Bavaria,

* Earl of Chesterfield to Mr. Dayrolles, May 19. 1752.

drove a diminished force of Austrians before them, and once more reinstated Charles the Seventh in his capital, and in the greater part of his electorate. Even the city of Vienna began to tremble at and to provide against a siege. But on the very first movements of the King of Prussia, Prince Charles had been hastily summoned from his conquest of Alsace; he repassed the Rhine with skill and with safety in the presence of a superior enemy, and led his army by forced marches to the frontiers of Bohemia, himself proceeding to Vienna to concert the military operations.* Maria Theresa, on her part, again repaired to Presburg, again appealed, and not in vain, to the chivalrous loyalty of the Hungarians; roused the gallant nobles to renewed exertions in her cause, and saw tumultuous but intrepid levies crowd beneath her banner. By these, and by Prince Charles's troops combined, the Prussian conquests were speedily retrieved; and, before the winter, Frederick found himself compelled to evacuate as speedily as he had overrun, Bohemia.

The campaign in Italy was marked by several important events. The French, headed by the Infant

* See a curious letter on the state of the war, from Sir Thomas Robinson, dated September 16. 1744, and printed in my Appendix. The King of Prussia, on beginning hostilities, published a letter or address to the people of England: "a poor "performance!" says Horace Walpole. "His Voltaires and "his Literati should correct his works before they are printed. "To pen manifestoes worse than the lowest *commis* that is kept "jointly by two or three Margraves, is insufferable." To Sir H. Mann, August 16. 1744.

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Don Philip, and by the Prince de Conti, not only conquered Savoy, but reduced Nice, forced several mountain passes, and routed the King of Sardinia in person at the bloody battle of Coni. On the other hand the Austrians, under Prince Lobkowitz, drove the Spanish troops from their strong position at Rimini, and pursued them towards the frontier of Naples with every prospect of defeating them. At this critical moment, however, the King of Naples broke his neutrality, and joined the Spaniards with some forces. The Austrians, though outnumbered, not dismayed, formed a gallant scheme, resembling Prince Eugene's at Cremona, to surprise the Neapolitan King and Generals at the head-quarters at Velletri; and their first column successfully penetrated into the place, set fire to the suburbs, and spread no slight consternation among the Spanish army; but reinforcements coming up, they were finally repulsed with considerable slaughter. They then commenced their retreat towards the Po, and closed the campaign in nearly the same positions as at its commencement.*

This year England obtained, as captives, the two principal promoters of the war, the Mareschal de Belleisle and his brother. They had been sent in the autumn, by the King of France, on a mission to the King of Prussia, but stopping to change horses at Elbingerode, a village of the Electorate of Hanover, were detained by the magistrates.

* Muratori, Annal. d'Ital. vol. xii. p. 308—316.

From thence they were conveyed to England, and, refusing to give their parole in the mode it was required, were confined for security in Windsor Castle. The Emperor complained of their arrest as a breach of the privileges of the Empire; the prisoners, themselves, claimed the benefit of the cartel of exchange; and the British Government was inclined to consider them as prisoners, not of war but of state. The question was referred by the King to his three Field Marshals, Stair, Cobham, and Wade, who, after a due examination of Belleisle's papers and commissions, gave it as their opinion that Belleisle and his brother were prisoners of war; and they were accordingly released under the cartel, and sent back to France, after several months' detention*: but we must acknowledge that in this transaction, the British Government appears neither rightful in its claims, nor speedy in its justice. CHAP. XXVI. 1744.

On the same day, in the month of October, died the Countess Granville and the Duchess Dowager of Marlborough. The former event is only remarkable from the succession to her title of her son Lord Carteret, who must henceforth be mentioned as Earl Granville. Sarah of Marlborough was nearly a nonagenarian, surviving both enemies and friends: her rival, the Duchess of Buckingham, had died in the preceding year; her satirist, Pope, only five months before. To her last, she was precisely the Atossa of his masterly delineation:—

* Tindal's Hist. vol. ix. p. 107. and 136.

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"cursed with every granted prayer; childless with "all her children;" she appeared a living proof that riches cannot surely bestow happiness, nor offspring always inspire affection. Much as she hated all those who had ever crossed her own or her husband's path, her fiercest rancour, perhaps, was reserved for some of her own descendants; nor did her gratitude for kindness at all keep pace with her resentment of injuries. It may be doubted whether her dogs, of whom she speaks with peculiar tenderness and respect, did not at last engross the larger portion of her heart.* Her enormous wealth, as during her life it had indulged her in every caprice of tyranny, enabled her, in her will, not only to endow her favourite grandson, John Spencer (Earl Spencer's ancestor), but to mark, by large legacies, her admiration of several leading opponents of the Ministry. To Lord Chesterfield she bequeathed 20,000*l.*, and the reversion of the Wimbledon estate†; to Pitt 10,000*l.*, in consideration of "the noble defence he has made for the "support of the laws of England, and to prevent "the ruin of his country."‡

* "My three dogs have all of them gratitude, wit, and good "sense, things very rare to be found in this country. They are "fond of going out with me, but when I reason with them, and "tell them it is not proper, they submit, and watch for my coming "home, and meet me with as much joy as if I had never given "them good advice." Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, 1737, p. 15.

† Maty's Life, p. 228.

‡ Thackeray's Life, vol. i. p. 137.

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The new Earl Granville was now in the very crisis of his ministerial fate. His unscrupulous support of all Hanoverian measures had lost him his reputation, both in Parliament and with the people, in the same degree as it had secured the boundless favour of the King. His Majesty's regard to Granville was at this time still further enhanced by his displeasure with the other Ministers; who, in the first place, had opposed his undertaking another journey to Hanover, and induced him, much against his inclination, to remain this year in England. He said to one of the Foreign ambassadors at his Court, that the people here were angry at his going to Hanover, when they all went out of town to their country-seats; but that it was unjust, for Hanover was his country-seat, and he had no other.* Secondly, they were unwilling to support His Majesty in new payments to other German principalities. On one occasion he exclaimed to the Chancellor, "I wish Saxony could be assisted with "a sum of money!" "Upon this," writes Lord Hardwicke, "I took the liberty to observe that "the large additional subsidy which His Majesty "had already granted to the Queen of Hungary, "was an additional reason against the practicability "of this Saxon demand. The King made no "reply, but pulled some papers out of his pocket;

* Marchmont Papers, vol. i. p. 54. His Majesty appears to have overlooked Hampton Court and Windsor Castle.

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"so I made my bow!".* But the Royal displeasure was soon more unequivocally manifested. "Our refusal," says Newcastle, "in the Saxon "affair, has produced all the resentment that can "be shown by manner, by looks, by harsh ex- "pressions to those, and to me in particular, who "he thinks have obstructed his views.... And I "think I can see by the air of the Court and "the courtiers, a greater shyness towards us, or at "least towards me, than I have ever yet observed. "... Upon the whole, I am of opinion that the "King thinks, at present, he has nothing more to "hope from us, and nothing to fear; that we will "go on with his favourite, Lord Carteret, and he "will use us accordingly."†

Granville on his part, conscious of far superior talents, elated with the Royal favour‡, and drunk with ambition and wine, continued to treat the Pelhams with haughty disdain. He had even frankly told them, a few months before, that he should insist on a larger share of power. "Things," said he, "cannot remain as they are. I will not "submit to be overruled and outvoted upon every "point by four to one. If you will take the Go-

* To the Duke of Newcastle, August 5. 1744. Coxe's Pelham.

† Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Pelham. August 25. 1744.

‡ "Lord Granville's maxim was '*Give any man the Crown* "*on his side and he can defy every thing.*' Winnington asked "him, 'If that were true, how he came to be Minister?'" H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, November 26. 1744.

"vernment upon you, you may; but if you can- CHAP. XXVI.
"not, or will not, there must be some direction, 1744.
"and I will do it."* Under these circumstances, but not without considerable hesitation, the love of power in the brothers triumphed over their timidity, and impelled them to decisive measures. Early in November they declared to the King, for themselves, and for the greater part of their colleagues, that His Majesty must choose between their resignations and the dismissal of Lord Granville. The alternative, as they foresaw, was most painful. On the one side lay the King's inclinations, on the other his necessities: Hanover with Granville, the House of Commons with Pelham. How could he venture, while requiring large subsidies for his German objects, to alienate the money-giving part of the Legislature, and convert its leaders from placemen into patriots? Yet George made every resistance in his power, consulted with Granville how to avert the storm, and sent for Lord Orford, who was sick at Houghton, entreating him to come to London, and give his advice and assistance. Nay, at this crisis, he even received assistance from the Prince of Wales, who agreed with his father only on one point, devotion to Hanover, and who rightly considered Granville as the victim of his Electoral zeal. But Frederick had little weight even with his own party: the advice of Orford was strongly against Granville; the latter failed in

* Coxe's Life of Horace Lord Walpole, p. 269.

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his overtures to the Opposition chiefs; and, thus compelled, the King, on the 23d of November, announced to the Chancellor his sullen submission. Accordingly, next day the seals were resigned by Granville, and given back to his predecessor, the Earl of Harrington.*

With Granville retired Lord Winchelsea and his Board of Admiralty, and other persons of inferior note, which, together with some cyphers and secret enemies to be flung out, left sufficient vacancies for a large accession of new strength. The object of the Pelhams was now to guard against the return of their rival, and to facilitate their Government in the House of Commons, by a coalition of parties. They accordingly opened a negotiation with the principal men in Opposition, especially with Chesterfield, Gower, and Pitt. So well pleased were these at the fall of the "sole and execrable minister," that they expressed their readiness to assist in maintaining the honour of Great Britain, and carrying on the war upon a practicable footing. It was agreed that they should unite against Granville and Bath; that as to public questions, the Hanoverians in British pay should be relinquished; and that, as to personal points, the heads of Opposition, whether

* See Mr. Yorke's Journal, Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 975—983. He calls Granville "this hunted Minister, at present an outcast "from all parties." The King ascribed the whole blame to Newcastle, who, in his Majesty's own words, "is grown as "jealous of Lord Granville as he had been of Lord Orford, and "wants to be Prime Minister, which, a puppy! how should he "be?" H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, Nov. 26. 1744.

Whig or Tory, should so far as possible be admitted into place. CHAP. XXVI. 1744.

During this time the Parliament had met, when there appeared a dead calm in both Houses, and in consequence of it a very thin attendance. The leaders had imposed silence on their party; but this interval of apparent tranquillity was filled up by active negotiations and conferences among themselves. But here, again, the utmost difficulties were encountered from the King's personal aversion, especially to Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pitt. His Majesty warmly resented the zeal of both against his Hanoverian objects, nor had he forgotten Chesterfield's connection with the Duchess of Kendal, and claims under the will of George the First.* He was also—and it must be owned not unreasonably—displeased at the prospect that an undoubted adherent of the exiled family, like Sir John Hinde Cotton, should be forced into the nominal service of his own.†

The repugnance of George prevailed in a few cases; in most others it was surmounted by the necessity of his affairs, he exclaiming with bitter-

* See vol. ii. p. 168.

† A caricature was circulated, representing the Ministers thrusting Sir John Hinde Cotton, who was extremely corpulent, down the King's throat. (Coxe's Life of Horace Lord Walpole, p. 276.) It would seem that political caricatures were much in vogue, in England, at that period; two very curious ones are mentioned in a letter of Earl Marischal, of November 4. 1743. See Appendix.

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ness, "Ministers are the King in this country!"* As the Tories continued to insist on some place for Cotton, as the condition of their support, he was appointed Treasurer of the Chamber in the Royal Household. Lord Gower resumed the Privy Seal; and according to the elder Horace Walpole, "several other Tories, knights of the shire, were "offered places by the mediation of Gower, but "serving for Jacobite counties could not hazard a "new election, and therefore declined the offer, of "which they have since made a merit with their "party. This made room for more of the patriot "kind."† The King's objections to Chesterfield were so far complied with, that the Earl consented to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland instead of Secretary of State; the former post not requiring, and indeed precluding, his frequent access to the Royal presence. The Duke of Devonshire, the devoted friend of Walpole, and often called by him "the "rough diamond‡," became Lord Steward. The Duke of Bedford was made First Lord of the Admiralty, with the Earl of Sandwich as second Commissioner. A seat at the same board, for George Grenville, gratified his uncle Lord Cobham. In the room of Lord Sandys, Lord Bathurst and Sir John Rushout, stepped in Waller, Dodington, and

* Notes of Conversation between the King and Lord Chancellor. Coxe's Pelham, vol. i. p. 202.

† To Mr. Trevor, December 28. 1744.

‡ H. Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 170.

Lord Hobart, while a Lordship of the Treasury was conferred on Lyttleton. CHAP. XXVI.

Pitt alone was placeless. He loftily declared that he would accept no office, except that of Secretary at War, and the Ministers were not yet able to dispense with Sir William Yonge in that department. This resolution of Pitt, joined to the King's pertinacity against him, excluded him, for the present, from any share of power. But the Pelhams felt his importance, and anxiously courted his aid. They promised to take the earliest opportunity to soften or subdue the prejudice against him, which rankled in the Royal mind; and they were sincere in that promise. Their great object was, to prevent the return of Granville to office; their great dread, that Granville might form a party in the Lower House: and it was, therefore, their evident policy to attempt no deception, and to give no offence to any Commoner, so able and aspiring as Pitt. On the other hand, Pitt cheerfully concurred in the new arrangements: he resigned his place in the Household of the Prince, who had fallen into great contempt, by clinging, like the King, but against his own former professions, to Hanover and Granville; and he undertook to support the Ministerial measures in the House of Commons. An opportunity for Pitt's public declaration was afforded in the January ensuing, when Sir William Yonge moved a grant for continuing the army in Flanders; a grant which the patriots had heretofore strenuously opposed. Pitt, at this time, was disabled with gout, and painfully, nay 1744. 1745.

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dangerously ill; yet he desired to be carried to his place, and, rising upon his crutches, spoke with undiminished eloquence and fire. "If," said he, "this were to be the last day of my life, I would "spend it in the House of Commons, since I judge "the condition of my country to be worse than "even that of my own health." He argued, that the question was changed since the preceding year, when a certain fatal influence prevailed in His Majesty's councils. The object seemed then to multiply war upon war, expense upon expense, and to abet the House of Austria in such romantic attempts, as the recovery of the AVULSA MEMBRA IMPERII, without regard to the immediate interest of Great Britain. "The object now is," he continued, "to enable ourselves by a close connection "with Holland, to hold out equitable terms of "peace, both to friends and foes, without continu- "ing the war a moment longer, than is necessary "for our own rights and those of our allies. We "are now free of that Minister, who, when not "ten men in the nation were disposed to follow "him, supported himself in the Closet, on that "broken reed, a dependence on foreign Princes." He then proceeded to compliment Mr. Pelham on his genuine patriotism and capacity for business, and the new Ministry, for pursuing moderate and healing measures. "I perceive," he exclaimed, "a dawn of salvation to my country breaking forth, "and I will follow it as far as it will lead me. I "should, indeed, consider myself as the greatest

"dupe in the world, if those, now at the helm, did "not, mean the honour of their master, and the "good of the nation. If I find myself deceived, "nothing will be left but to act with an honest "despair!" A member present, no friend of Pitt, declares that "his fulminating eloquence silenced "all opposition," and the question passed with only a single negative from Lord Strange.*

Indeed, so thoroughly were the leading members, whether Tory or Patriot, reconciled by the recent changes, that the Ministers might boast to the King, "If your Majesty looks round the House "of Commons, you will find no man of business, "or even of weight, left, capable of heading or "conducting an Opposition."† And though some change occurred in that respect, yet still, from this period to the death of Mr. Pelham, in 1754, the Opposition was so feeble, that the debates in Parliament dwindled almost to insignificance; they made far less impression on the people, and should fill a much briefer space in History. Thus, for example, the remainder of the Session of 1745 was marked by no important division, and produced

* For this remarkable debate see Mr. Yorke's Journal (Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 1052.) and Mr. Cornabé's letter, January 25. 1745. in my Appendix. Sir Watkin Wynn also spoke for the question, saying, that he agreed with the Court for the first time in his life. On the other hand, Sir R. Newdigate drily called it "an old measure from a new ministry;" but he was put down by Pitt.

† Notes of conversation between the King and Lord Chancellor, January 5. 1745.

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only some proceedings on the conduct of the Admirals in the Mediterranean; a silly motion of Mr. Carew for Annual Parliaments; and an attack upon the City Act of 1725*, which was repelled this year, but to which Mr. Pelham prudently yielded in the next.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that no sooner had Granville fallen, than the Ministers readily slid into what they had previously denounced as "his abominable courtly measures."† The Hanoverian system was as steadily pursued, the English money as lavishly supplied. All objection to the King's favourite wish at this moment —a new Saxon subsidy—disappeared, as soon as the Minister who urged it was removed. In January, 1745, a Quadruple Alliance was concluded between England, Holland, Austria, and Saxony; by which, the latter power engaged to furnish 30,000 men for the defence of Bohemia, in consideration of a subsidy of 150,000*l.*, two thirds of this to be paid by England, and one third by Holland. But the system of German subsidies did not end here: such examples are contagious; and there was scarcely a Prince in the Empire, who did not, henceforth, think himself entitled to the praise and pay of Great Britain, even when he only de-

* See vol. ii. p. 115.

† An expression of the Duke of Newcastle. See Coxe's Lord Walpole of Wolterton, p. 277. The Duke, with a faint effort at consistency, writes to his brother, December 30. 1744; "We "must not, because we seem to be in, forget all we said to keep "Lord Granville out!"

fended his own dominions. The Elector of Cologne was gratified with 24,000*l.*; another sum of 8,000*l.* was not too small to tempt the Elector of Mayence. All these, as well as an increased subsidy of half a million to the Queen of Hungary, being supported by the patriots, were readily passed by the British Parliament. CHAP. XXVI. 1745.

With respect to the Hanoverian and Hessian mercenaries, they were indeed dismissed the British service, but by a private agreement with the Queen of Hungary, they were immediately taken into Austrian pay; and it was with this very view, that her subsidy had been raised from 300,000*l.* to 500,000*l.* The only difference was therefore, that, in the first case, the same foreign troops were paid by British money directly, and in the second case, indirectly. Nay, more; when the outcry against the Hanoverians had died away, the Ministers, knowing that popular clamour can scarce ever be effectually revived upon the same subject, reverted to their former plan. In 1746, 18,000 Hanoverians were once more taken into British pay, and the new Parliament of the ensuing year voted 22,000.

In all these measures, a strong case of inconsistency may unquestionably be established against the statesmen, who, having first vehemently opposed, afterwards brought forward or acquiesced in them. My admiration of Chatham does not lead me to assert the perfection, though it does the purity, of his whole political career. Yet, with respect to the

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Hanover forces, voted after 1745, we should remember that the rebellion, which had manifested the strength of discontent and the want of troops at home, placed their engagement on a new foundation of experience, and afforded far more justifiable grounds for their support.

The new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, before proceeding to his Government, consented to undertake another embassy to the Hague, to endeavour to bring the Dutch into a more hearty co-operation in the war. In this object every preceding negotiator had failed; Chesterfield in a great measure succeeded. His knowledge of Dutch politics and statesmen, derived from his former mission, the high reputation which he had then left behind, joined to his insinuating manners and skilful address, in a few weeks prevailed over the greatest obstacles.* The Dutch were brought to undertake, upon paper, that they would maintain 50,000 men in the field, besides 10,000 in their garrisons; and that the Duke of Cumberland, who was to be put at the head of the British forces in the next campaign, should be appointed commander-in-chief of the whole confederate army. And though the Dutch, in reality, did much less than they had promised, it was yet much more than, from past experience, their British allies had any reason to expect.

In March 1745, and before the close of the

* See an account of his proceedings with the French envoy, Abbé de la Ville, in a letter to his son, September 29. 1752. See also Maty's Life, p. 236—243.

Session, Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford, expired. The cause of his death was partly the stone, partly a quack medicine which he took to cure it. To the last, amidst severe bodily pain, which he bore with high fortitude and resignation, his mind retained all its wonted sagacity and clearness. Only a few days before he died, the Duke of Cumberland, having in vain remonstrated with the King against a marriage being concluded for him with a deformed Danish Princess, sent his governor, Mr. Poyntz, to consult Lord Orford how to avoid so hateful an alliance. After reflecting a few moments, Orford advised that the Duke should give his consent to the marriage, on condition of receiving an ample and immediate establishment; "and be-"lieve me," added he, "that the match will be no "longer pressed." The Duke followed the advice, and the result fulfilled the prediction. 1745.

In January, the same year, one principal obstacle to peace was removed in the Emperor Charles the Seventh, who died at Munich, worn down by disasters as much as by infirmities.* His son and successor in his hereditary states concluded a treaty at Fuessen, with the Queen of Hungary, by which the new Elector renounced all claims to the Austrian succession, engaged to

* "Il n'avait été malheureux que depuis qu'il avait été Empe-"reur. La nature dès-lors lui avait plus de mal que la fortune. "..... Il avait la goutte et la pierre; on trouva ses poumons, "son foie et son estomac gangrenés, des pierres dans ses reins, "un polype dans son cœur!" (Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV. ch. xiv.)

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recall his troops from the French army, and promised his vote for the Duke of Lorraine in the next Imperial Diet; while Maria Theresa acknowledged the validity of the late Emperor's election, and restored all the territory which she had conquered from Bavaria.

In April, the campaign was opened on the side of Flanders, where the French had an army of 76,000 excellent troops, commanded by the Mareschal de Saxe. As to the Allies, England had furnished her full contingent of 28,000 men, but Holland less than half of the 50,000 she had stipulated; there were but eight Austrian squadrons, and the whole body scarcely exceeded 50,000 fighting men. The nominal leader was the young Duke of Cumberland, but subject in a great measure to the control of an Austrian veteran, Marshal Konigsegg, and obliged to consult the Dutch commander, Prince de Waldeck. Against these inferior numbers and divided councils the French advanced in full confidence of victory, and, after various movements to distract the attention of the Allies, suddenly, on the 1st of May, invested Tournay. This was one of the strongest fortresses in Flanders, well provided with stores and provisions of every kind, and garrisoned by no less than 9,000 Dutch. To relieve this important city, immediately became the principal object with the Allies; and the States, usually so cautious, nay, timorous in their suggestions, were now as eager in demanding battle. Accordingly, the Duke of Cum-

berland, who had but lately arrived at the Hague from England, set out again for Brussels, and after a few days passed in preparations, put himself at the head of his troops and led them towards the enemy. On the other hand, Marshal de Saxe made most skilful dispositions to receive them. Leaving 15,000 infantry to cover the blockade of Tournay, he drew up the rest of his army, a few miles further, in an excellent position, which he strengthened with numerous works, and his soldiers were inspirited by the arrival of the King and Dauphin, who had hastened from Paris to join in the expected action.

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The three Allied Generals, on advancing against the French, found them encamped on some gentle heights, with the village of Antoin and the river Scheldt on their right, Fontenoy and a narrow valley in their front, and a small wood, named Barré on their left. The passage of the Scheldt, and, if needful, a retreat, were secured by the bridge of Calonne in the rear, by a TÊTE DE PONT, and by a reserve of the Household Troops. Abbatis were constructed in the wood of Barré; redoubts between Antoin and Fontenoy; and the villages themselves had been carefully fortified and garrisoned. The narrow space between Fontenoy and Barré seemed sufficiently defended by cross fires, and by the natural ruggedness of the ground: in short, as the French officers thought, the strength of the position might bid defiance to the boldest assailant. Nevertheless, the Allied chiefs, who had

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already resolved on a general engagement, drove in the French piquets and outposts on the 10th of May, New Style, and issued orders for their intended attack at daybreak. The night was passed by all the troops under arms: our's, daunted neither by the strong position nor superior numbers of the enemy, but full of that calm self-reliance, that unboastful resolution, which are scarce ever found wanting in British soldiers. They have, truly indeed, that fear-nought feeling ascribed to them by a General who had often led them forward in former wars. When, in 1714, Cobham and Stanhope went together on an embassy to Vienna, a body of 10,000 excellent cavalry—deemed the best in Europe—was reviewed before them by Prince Eugene; who, turning to Stanhope, asked him, "If he thought that any 10,000 British horse "could beat those Austrians?" "I cannot tell, "Sir," answered the General, "whether they "could or not, but I know that five thousand "would try!"*

At six o'clock on the morning of the 11th, the cannonade began. The Prince of Waldeck, and his Dutch, undertook to carry Antoin and Fontenoy by assault, while the Duke of Cumberland, at the head

* This reply has sometimes been ascribed to Sir C. H. Williams, Sir A. Mitchell, or others, at the Court of Frederick the Second. But the much earlier and respectable authority of Dr. King fixes it, beyond all question, on "the English officer who accompanied "Lord Cobham in his embassy to Vienna," that is, General Stanhope. (See King's Anecdotes of his own Time, p. 130. and the first vol. of this History, p. 171.)

of the British and Hanoverians, was to advance against the enemy's left. His Royal Highness, at the same time with his own attack, sent General Ingoldsby, with a division, to pierce through the wood of Barré, and storm the redoubt beyond it. But Ingoldsby finding the wood occupied by some sharp-shooters, which he mistook for a considerable body, hesitated—disobeyed his positive orders—and returned to the Duke for fresh instructions; thus incurring an irreparable loss of time to the army, of honour to himself. On the other wing likewise, the Dutch were repulsed in their attacks, suffering so severely from the fire of the numerous batteries, that they retired in confusion to some distance from the field, where they remained sluggish and unmoved spectators of the remaining conflict. Nay more, one of their Colonels (Appius was his name,) rode away with the greater part of his men, some 15 or 20 miles, to Ath; and from thence, with an impudent folly equal to his cowardice, wrote a letter to the States informing them that the Allied army had engaged the French, and been totally cut to pieces, except that part which he had prudently brought off safe!*

While Ingoldsby and the Dutch were thus failing in duty, the British and Hanoverians had not forgotten their's. These gallant troops, leaving their cavalry in the rear, from the ruggedness of the

* Mr. Yorke to H. Walpole, May 16. 1745. See Appendix. This regiment, though in the Dutch pay, was not of their country, but of Hesse Homburg.

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ground, but dragging forwards several field pieces, plunged down the ravine between Fontenoy and Barré, and marched on against a position which the best Marshals of France had deemed impregnable, and which the best troops of that nation defended. At their head was William of Cumberland, conspicuous for his courage, and whose want of experience was supplied by an excellent officer—his military tutor—General Ligonier. The French and Swiss guards stood before their front, and offered every resistance that brave men could make; while whole ranks of the British were swept away, at once, by the murderous fire of the batteries on their left and right. Still did their column, diminishing in numbers not in spirit, steadily press forward, repulse several desperate attacks of the French infantry, and gain ground on its position. Soon did they begin to retaliate upon the enemy the terrible slaughter they had themselves experienced. One of the first that fell dead in the French ranks was the young Duke de Grammont, the same whose imprudent valour had hazarded and lost the day at Dettingen. At his side, when he fell, was his uncle De Noailles, an older Marshal than De Saxe, but who would not refuse to serve in any capacity that his King and his country required; and who, in this battle, assisted his junior commander with all the skill of a veteran, with all the submission of an aide-de-camp.*

The space between Fontenoy and the wood of

* Mém. de Noailles, vol. vi. p. 112.

Barré was so narrow, that the British, as much from necessity as choice, remained in a close and serried column. This mass—firm, solid, and compact, and all animated by the same spirit as though it formed but a single living frame—as though one mighty Leviathan of war—bore down everything before it with irresistible impulse. The news of the Dutch retreat, indeed, and of Ingoldsby's return, struck a momentary damp upon their spirits, but was speedily repaired. Again did the British soldiers stand proudly on the French positions they had won, while charge after charge of the best French cavalry was urged at them in vain. Nay, they even continued to press forward in the rear of Fontenoy, threatening to cut off the communication of the enemy with the bridge of Calonne, and, therefore, his passage of the river. The battle appeared to be decided: already did Marshal Konigsegg offer his congratulations to the Duke of Cumberland; already had Mareschal de Saxe prepared for retreat, and, in repeated messages, urged the King to consult his safety and withdraw, while it was yet time, beyond the Scheldt. But Louis, with a spirit which could not forsake even the most effeminate descendant of Henri Quatre, as repeatedly refused to quit the field. "If," says a French historian, "the Dutch had now put "themselves in movement, and joined the British, "there would have been no resource, nay, no retreat "for the French army, nor, in all probability, for "the King and for his son."*

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* Siècle de Louis XV. ch. xv.

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The French Marshal now determined to make one last effort to retrieve the day. The inactivity of the Dutch enabled him to call away the forces that held Fontenoy and Antoin: he drew together the Household Troops, the whole reserve, and every other man that he could muster, but foremost of all were the gallant Brigade of Irish exiles. Moreover, by the advice of the Duke de Richelieu,—the destined conqueror of Minorca—he placed and levelled a battery, of four pieces of cannon, against the very front of the advancing British column. A fierce and decisive onset ensued. The British, exhausted by their own exertions, mowed down by the artillery in front, and assailed by the fresh troops in flank, were overpowered. Their column wavered—broke—fell back. Yet, still there was neither cowardice nor confusion in their ranks, and their retreat was made slowly, step by step, with their face to their foes, and winning the highest admiration, even from those to whom they yielded. The Duke of Cumberland was the last in the retreat, as he had been foremost in the charge. He called to the troops, aloud, bidding them remember Blenheim and Ramillies; and seeing one of his officers running off, His Royal Highness drew a pistol against him. The cavalry, too, which had been unable to take part in the conflict, from the rugged nature of the ground, now came up and proved of essential service in protecting the further retreat. In this guise did they leave the field, and then, in con-

junction with the Dutch, fall back to the ramparts of Ath.* CHAP. XXVI.

In this battle of Fontenoy (for such is the name it has borne,) the British left behind a few pieces of artillery, but no standards, and scarce any prisoners but the wounded. The loss in these, and in killed, was given out as 4041 British, 1762 Hanoverians, and only 1544 Dutch; while on their part, the French likewise acknowledged above 7000. To the Allies, it should be deemed an abortive enterprise or a half won victory—a disappointment rather than a defeat. The misconduct of the Dutch needs no comment; of the British officers it might, perhaps, be said that they showed, throughout, more courage than capacity. But, amongst the French, the highest praise is due to the Mareschal de Saxe. In him, it was but a feeble tie that bound together a sickly body with a fiery and invincible soul. At this period, so much was he wasted with sickness that he could scarcely travel, and Voltaire, who met him at Paris, avowed to him some apprehensions that, if he persisted in setting out he would never live to reach the army. "The "object now," replied the Marshal, "is not to "live but to go!" When he had arrived, he was unable to bear the weight of a breast-plate: he some- 1745.

* For this battle see especially the official account in the Gazette—Coxe's Pelham, vol. i. p. 232—235.—Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV. ch. xv.—two letters printed in the Culloden Papers, p. 200—203, and two others from Mr. Yorke to Mr. Walpole, May 4. and 16. 1745. O.S. which will be found in the Appendix.

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times sunk from his horse, and then was carried forward in an osier litter; but his genius triumphed over its earthly trammels: to him went every report —from him came every order; and his eagle glance (as was eloquently said of Conde's*) saw through every thing in battle, and was never dazzled there!

After the battle, the siege of Tournay might still have delayed the French army some considerable time; but the treachery of the principal engineer, who deserted to the enemy, and the timidity of other officers in the garrison, produced a surrender of the city in a fortnight, of the citadel in another week.† The important citadel of Ghent was next invested; a detachment sent to reinforce the garrison, and headed by the Hanoverian General Molk, was worsted in a skirmish at Mêle; and the besieged capitulated. Equal success crowned similar attempts on Bruges, on Oudenarde, and on Dendermond, while the Allies could only act on the defensive, and cover Brussels and Antwerp. The French next directed their arms against Ostend, which, notwithstanding the arrival of two battalions from England in the harbour, yielded in fourteen days; the Dutch governor refusing to avail himself of the means of defence which the place afforded, by inundating the adjacent country. Meanwhile, the events in Scotland were compelling the British Government to withdraw the greater part of their

* De Retz, Mém. vol. i. p. 154. ed. 1817.

† Mr. Yorke to Mr. Walpole, May 27. 1745. See Appendix.

force; and it was only the approach of winter, and the retreat of both armies into quarters, that obtained a brief respite for the remaining fortresses of Flanders. CHAP. XXVI. 1745.

King George, in spite of all remonstrances, had repaired to Hanover at the close of the Session, attended by Lord Harrington, who laboured, but at first very ineffectually, to mediate a peace between Prussia and Austria. Maria Theresa had formed sanguine hopes of the reconquest of Silesia, and had sent thither a large army under Prince Charles of Lorraine. The genius of Frederick, however, gained a signal victory over him at Friedberg, on the 3d. of June.* In the ensuing September, another battle at Sohr, near the sources of the Elbe, proved equally in favour of the Prussians. But some compensation appeared to Maria Theresa for this last disaster, since in the same month her husband was chosen Emperor at Frankfort, by all the Electoral votes except the Palatine and Brandenburg. She was present at the ceremony; and from her balcony, was the first to raise the cry "Long "live the Emperor Francis the First!" a cry eagerly re-echoed by ten thousand glad voices below. From Frankfort she proceeded to visit her army at Heidelberg, amounting to 60,000 men: she was received

* Frederick had very shortly before received from Louis the Fifteenth a notification of the battle in Flanders, and answered him in the following terms: "Monsieur mon frère, J'ai acquitté "à Friedberg la lettre de change que vous avez tirée sur moi à "Fontenoy." (Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV. ch. xvi.)

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by the Emperor himself, at the head of the troops, and passed between the lines, raising the highest enthusiasm by her beauty, her affability, and a donation which she directed of one florin to each soldier. Meanwhile the King of Prussia, in spite of his victories, was jealous of the progress of the French in Flanders, and sincerely desirous of peace. The Empress still rejected his overtures; but another battle which he gained over the Austrians and Saxons, combined, near Dresden, and which gave him possession of that city, overcame her hesitation, and a treaty was signed at Dresden on Christmas Day, confirming to Frederick the possession of Silesia, and, on the other hand, acknowledging on his part the recent Imperial election.

In Italy the campaign proved as disastrous as in Flanders. A French and Spanish army, again pouring down from the Alps, and headed by Don Philip and Mareschal de Maillebois, was reinforced by Count de Gages, and his troops, across the Apennines. They were still further strengthened by 10,000 men from Genoa; a state deeply aggrieved by the cession of Finale under the treaty of Worms. These combined troops forced the passage of the Tanaro, and routed the King of Sardinia, compelling him to seek shelter under the walls of his capital. It was in vain that the British fleet, now commanded by Admiral Rowley, endeavoured to effect a diversion, by battering and burning some towns on the Genoese coast. Don Philip, advancing to Milan in triumph, received the

homage of the neighbouring cities; and the Queen of Spain already saw, in imagination, the Crown of Lombardy encircle the brow of her second son.* CHAP. XXVI. 1745.

From America, at least, there came joyful tidings. The people of New England had formed a design for reducing Louisburg, the capital of Cape Breton, a French port of great importance, and sometimes termed the Dunkirk of America.† The King's Government afforded its assistance to the enterprise. Early in the spring, about 4000 volunteers assembled at Boston: they were reinforced by a body of marines, and supported by Admiral Warren, with a squadron of ten ships of war. For their commander they chose Mr. Pepperel, a private gentleman, in whom courage and sagacity supplied the place of military skill. Landing with very slight loss at Gabarus, four miles from Louisburg, they invested the place by land while the fleet blockaded the harbour. The walls were newly repaired and the garrison mustered 1200 men, and a resolute resistance was encountered; but, nevertheless, on the 15th of June, after forty-nine days' siege, the town and the whole island were compelled to surrender to the British arms.

* Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain, vol. iii. p. 366.

† Tindal's Hist. vol. iv. p. 156.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

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WE are now arrived at that memorable period when the cause of the banished Stuarts flashed with brilliant lustre, then sunk into eternal darkness—when the landing of seven men could shake an empire—when the wildest dreams of fiction were surpassed by the realities of history—when a principle of loyalty, mistaken indeed, but generous and noble, impelled to such daring deeds, and was followed by such utter ruin—when so many gallant spirits, lately exulting in hope or forward in action, were quenched in violent death, or wasted in the lingering agonies of exile.*

* Of the rebellion of 1745 there are three separate histories, which I have consulted and found of great service. First, Mr. Home's, published in 1802; it is meagre, unsatisfactory, and by no means worthy the author of Douglas, but it contains several valuable facts and letters. Secondly, Sir Walter Scott's, in the Tales of a Grandfather—an excellent and perspicuous narrative, but which being written for his little grandson, is, of course, not

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The spring of 1745 found the young Pretender still at Paris, harassed by the discords of his own adherents, and weary of leaning on a broken reed —the friendship of Louis the Fifteenth. Since the failure at Dunkirk, the French professions of assistance were continued, but the reality had wholly disappeared. It seems that several Protestant Princes—the King of Prussia more especially—had remonstrated against the support which France was giving to the Roman Catholic party in Great Britain*, and that most of the French Ministers shrunk from offending their continental allies, while others wished every effort to be concentrated for Flanders. Even the Irish Brigade, though consisting of Charles's own countrymen and partisans, was not reserved for his service. Even a little money, for his immediate wants, could only be obtained after repeated solicitation and long delay. Yet Charles's high spirit endured. He writes to his father: "I own one must have a great stock of "patience to bear all the ill usage I have from "the French Court, and the TRACASSERIES of our "own people. But my patience will never fail in "either, there being no other part to take."†

always as well adapted to older persons. Thirdly, Mr. Chambers'—very full and exact. The writer, though a warm partisan of the Stuarts, is always fair and candid, and deserves much praise for his industry in collecting the remaining local traditions.

* Mémoires de Noailles, vol. vi. p. 22. This passage has hitherto been overlooked, in reference to the conduct of the French Court upon this subject, but fully accounts for it.

† Letter, January 16. 1745. Stuart Papers.

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And again, "Whatever I may suffer, I shall not "regret in the least, as long as I think it of service "for our great object; I would put myself in a "tub, like Diogenes, if necessary!"*

It had been intimated to Charles, through Murray of Broughton, and on the part of his principal Scottish friends, that they could do nothing in his behalf, nor even think themselves bound to join him, unless he came with a body of at least 6000 troops, and 10,000 stand of arms. These he had no longer any hope of obtaining, and he was therefore brought back by necessity to his first and favourite scheme, "having it always at heart," says he in a later letter, "to restore my Royal "Father by the means of his own subjects "alone."† He wrote to Scotland, whither Murray had now returned, announcing his intention, at all hazards, to attempt the enterprise. Meanwhile he made every exertion for procuring arms, borrowed 180,000 livres from two of his adherents, and wrote to his father at Rome, concealing his real project, but requesting that his jewels might be pawned, and the money sent to him. "For "our object," says he, "I would pawn even my "shirt. . . . As for my jewels, I should, on this "side the water, wear them with a very sore heart, "thinking that there might be made a better use "of them. . . . It is but for such uses that I shall

* Letter, January 3. 1745. Appendix.

† Instructions to Alexander Macleod, Edinburgh, September 24. 1745. See Home's History, Append. p. 324.

" ever trouble your Majesty with asking for mo- CHAP.
" ney; it will never be for plate or fine clothes, XXVII.
" but for arms and ammunition, or other things 1745.
" that tend to what I am come about to this
" country."*

The announcement of Charles's intentions excited equal surprise and alarm among his friends in Scotland: all, with the single exception of the Duke of Perth, condemned his project; they wrote dissuasive letters which, however, came too late†, and they stationed Murray on the watch on the Highland coast, that if the Prince came, he might see him, and urge him to return. Murray remained on this station during the whole month of June, and then went back to his house in the south of Scotland, supposing the enterprise abandoned. But on the contrary, the tidings of the battle of Fontenoy had decided Charles's movements, it seeming to afford a favourable opportunity, such as might never occur again. He made all his preparations with equal speed and secresy. He was then at the Château de Navarre, near Evreux‡, formerly a favourite haunt of his great ancestor

* Letter, March 7. 1745. Appendix.

† Examination of Mr. Murray of Broughton, August 13. 1746. Appendix.

‡ " Navarre, à une demie lieue d'Evreux, bâti par Mon-
" seigneur le Duc de Bouillon, sur les ruines d'un château que
" les Rois de Navarre avaient fait faire pour la chasse, 1702."
(Copied from a MS., Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.) Delille says, in *Les Jardins*,

" L'ombre du Grand Henri chérit encore Navarre."

CHAP. XXVII. Henri Quatre, and, since Charles Stuart, again the refuge of fallen grandeur in the Empress Josephine.

1745. In 1745, it was the seat of the young Duke de Bouillon, between whom and Charles a romantic friendship had been formed.* From Navarre, on the 12th of June, Charles wrote a most remarkable letter to his father, for the first time revealing his design. Here are some extracts:—"Let me mention a "parable: a horse that is to be sold, if spurred it "does not skip or show some signs of life, nobody "would care to have him, even for nothing. Just "so my friends would care very little to have me, "if, after such scandalous usage from the French "Court, which all the world is sensible of, I should "not show that I have life in me. Your Majesty "cannot disapprove a son's following the example "of his father. You yourself did the like in the "year Fifteen; but the circumstances now are "indeed very different, by being much more en-"couraging. . . . This letter will not be sent off "till I am on shipboard. . . . I have sent Stafford "to Spain, and appointed Sir Thomas Geraldine "to demand succours in my name to complete "the work, and I have sent letters for the King "and Queen. Let what will happen, the stroke "is struck; and I have taken a firm resolution to "conquer or to die, and to stand my ground as

* See in the Culloden Papers, p. 205., an intercepted letter from the Duke to Charles in Scotland, assuring him in the warmest terms of friendship that he may dispose of all his estate and blood.

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"long as I shall have a man remaining with me. ". . . Whatever happens unfortunate to me, can- "not but be the strongest engagement to the "French Court to pursue your cause; nay, if "I were sure they were capable of any sensation "of this kind, if I did not succeed, I would perish, "as Curtius did, to save my country and make it "happy. . . . Your Majesty may now see my reason "for pressing so much to pawn my jewels, which "I should be glad to have done immediately, for "I never intend to come back."*

To King Louis, or to the French Ministry, Charles gave no intimation whatever of his intended enterprise, having strong grounds to fear that he might else be forcibly detained. Nevertheless, he secured the assistance of one large French man-of-war, and had even hopes of a second. "It will appear strange "to you," writes he to James's Secretary, "how I "should get these things without the knowledge "of the French Court. I employed one Rut- "ledge, and one Walsh, who are subjects:" (they were merchants at Nantes); "the first has got a "grant of a man-of-war from the French Court to "cruise on the coast of Scotland, and is luckily "obliged to go as far north as I do, so that she "will escort me without appearing to do it."† The ship of war thus obtained was named the Elizabeth, and carried sixty-seven guns: the vessel

* Letter, June 12. 1745. Appendix.

† Letter to Mr. Edgar, June 12. 1745. Appendix.

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for Charles's own conveyance was a brig of eighteen, the Doutelle*, an excellent sailer, fitted out by Walsh to cruise against the British trade. The arms provided by the Prince—about 1500 fusées, 1800 broad-swords, with powder, balls, flints, and twenty small field-pieces—were for the most part embarked in the Elizabeth: the money that he carried with him was less than four thousand Louis d'ors. It must be owned, that the charm of this romantic enterprise seems singularly heightened, when we find from the secret papers I have now disclosed, that it was undertaken not only against the British Government, but without, and in spite of, the French!

The Doutelle lay in the mouth of the Loire, and Nantes was the place appointed to meet at. The better to conceal the design, the gentlemen who were to embark with Charles travelled by various routes to the rendezvous; while they remained there, they lodged in different parts of the town, and if they accidentally met in the streets, they took not the least notice of each other, nor seemed in any way acquainted if there was any person near enough to observe them.† All things being prepared, Charles set out from Navarre, and, after being delayed for a few days by contrary winds,

* It is called *Le Du Belier* by Charles himself in his letter of August 2. 1745, (See Appendix); but all other authorities agree in the name *La Doutelle.*

† Jacobite Memoirs of 1745, p. 2. a valuable work, compiled from the papers of Bishop Forbes, by Sir Henry Steuart of Allanton, and R. Chambers, Esq. 1834.

embarked on the 2d of July at seven in the evening, from Saint Nazaire, at the mouth of the Loire. At the island of Belleisle they were further detained till the 13th, expecting the Elizabeth, but, on her arrival, proceeded in good earnest on their voyage. It was from Belleisle that the Prince bade a last farewell to his friends in Italy. "I hope in "God we shall soon meet, which I am resolved "shall not be but at home. . . . I am, thank God, "in perfect good health, but have been a little sea-"sick, and expect to be more so; but it does not "keep me much abed, for I find the more I strug-"gle against it the better."* As a disguise, he wore the habit of a student of the Scots College at Paris, and his rank was not known to the crew; and to conceal his person still more, he allowed his beard to grow until his arrival in Scotland.

On the fourth day after leaving Belleisle the adventurers fell in with a British man-of-war of 58 guns, called the Lion, and commanded by Captain Brett, the same officer who, in Anson's expedition, had stormed Paita. An engagement ensued between this ship and the Elizabeth, when after a well-matched fight of five or six hours, the vessels parted, each nearly disabled. The Lion found it necessary to put back to England, and the Elizabeth to France. As to the Doutelle, it had kept

* To Mr. Edgar, July 12. 1745. In the proceedings abroad I always give the date according to the New Style, but in Great Britain according to the Old. The same is to be observed of Prince Charles's own letters.

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aloof during the conflict. Charles had earnestly pressed Mr. Walsh to allow him to engage in it, but Walsh, feeling the magnitude of his charge, exerted his authority, as owner of the vessel, and steadily refused, saying at last, that if the Prince insisted any more he should order him down to the cabin! * The Doutelle now pursued her voyage alone; but the return of the Elizabeth lost Charles the greater part of the arms and stores he had so laboriously provided.

Two days afterwards the little bark that bore "Cæsar and his fortunes," was chased by another large vessel, but escaped by means of superior sailing, and was rapidly wafted among the Western Isles.† After about a fortnight's voyage, it moored near the little islet of Erisca, between Barra and South Uist. As they neared the shore, an eagle that came hovering round the ship, delighted the adventurers by its favourable augury. "Here," said Lord Tullibardine, turning to his master, "is "the King of Birds come to welcome your Royal "Highness to Scotland!" Charles and his followers then landed and passed the night on shore. They learnt that this cluster of Islands belonged to Macdonald of Clanranald, a young chief attached

* Narrative of Mr. Æneas Macdonald, one of the Prince's companions. (Jacobite Memoirs, p. 7.)

† There is some discrepancy here as to the dates (compare the Jacobite Memoirs, p. 9. with the Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 479.), but it is of small importance. The day of Charles's landing in Moidart was certainly July 25. O. S.

to the Jacobite cause,—that Clanranald himself had gone to the mainland; but that his uncle, and principal adviser, Macdonald of Boisdale was then not far distant in South Uist. A summons from Charles brought Boisdale on board the Doutelle the next morning. But his expressions were not encouraging. He remonstrated with Charles against his enterprise, which he said was rash to the verge of insanity; and added, that if his nephew followed his advice he would take no part in it. In vain did Charles exert all his powers of persuasion; the old man remained inflexible, and went back to his isle in a boat, while Charles pursued his voyage to the mainland. 1745.

Arriving at this, Charles entered the bay of Lochnanuagh in Invernesshire, between Moidart and Arisaig. He immediately sent a messenger to Clanranald, who came to him on board, attended by several of his tribe, especially Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart. To them Charles addressed the same arguments as he had to Boisdale, imploring them to assist their Prince and their countryman, at his utmost need. In reply they urged, like Boisdale, that to take arms without concert or support could end in nothing but ruin. Charles persisted, argued and implored. During the conversation they walked to and fro upon the deck; while a Highlander stood near them, armed at all points, as was then the custom of the country; he was a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart, and had come to the ship without knowing who was on board it;

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but when he gathered from the discourse that the stranger was the Prince of Wales, and when he heard his chief and his brother refuse to take arms with their rightful sovereign, as they believed him, his colour went and came, his eyes sparkled, he shifted his place, and instinctively grasped his sword. Charles observed his agitation, and with great skill availed himself of it. Turning suddenly towards him, he called out: "Will you, at least, not assist "me?"—"I will! I will!" cried Ranald. "Though "no other man in the Highlands should draw a "sword, I am ready to die for you!"—Charles eagerly expressed his thanks to the warm-hearted young man, saying he only wished that all the Highlanders were like him. But, in very truth, they were like him. Catching his enthusiasm, and spurning all further deliberations the two Macdonalds declared that they also would join, and use every exertion to engage their countrymen.*

During this scene, the other kinsmen of Clanranald had remained with Charles's attendants in a tent, that had been pitched at the opposite end of the deck. One of these Macdonalds has left a journal, in which Charles's appearance is described: "There entered the tent a tall youth of a most "agreeable aspect, in a plain black coat, with a "plain shirt not very clean, and a cambrick stock "fixed with a plain silver buckle, a fair round wig "out of the buckle, a plain hat with a canvass string,

* Home's History, p. 39.

"having one end fixed to one of his coat buttons: "he had black stockings and brass buckles in his "shoes. At his first appearance I found my heart "swell to my very throat. But we were imme- "diately told that this youth was an English "clergyman, who had long been possessed with a "desire to see and converse with Highlanders.*" It is remarkable that among these Macdonalds—the foremost to join Charles—was the father of Marshal Macdonald, Duke de Tarento, long afterwards raised to these honours by his merit in the French Revolutionary wars, and not more distinguished for courage and capacity than for integrity and honour.

Charles being now sure of some support landed a few days afterwards, on the memorable 25th of July, Old Style, in Lochnanuagh, and was conducted to Borodale, a neighbouring farm-house belonging to Clanranald. Seven persons came on shore with him, namely, the Marquis of Tullibardine, who, but for the attainder of 1716, would have been Duke of Athol, and was always called so by the Jacobites—Sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been tutor to Charles—Sir John Macdonald, an officer in the Spanish service—Kelly, a non-juring clergyman, the same who had taken part in Atterbury's plot†—Francis Strickland, an English gentleman—Æneas Macdonald, a banker in Paris, and

* Macdonald's Journal; Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 480.

† See vol. ii. p. 53.

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The first step of Charles was to send letters to such Highland chiefs as he knew, or hoped to be, his friends, especially to Cameron of Lochiel, Sir Alexander Macdonald, and Mac Leod. Lochiel immediately obeyed the summons; but he came convinced of the rashness, nay madness of the enterprise, and determined to urge Charles to desist from it and return to France till a more favourable opportunity. On his way to Borodale he called upon his brother, Cameron of Fassefern, who concurred in his opinion, but advised him rather to impart it to the Prince by letter. "I know you," said Fassefern, "better than you know yourself. If this Prince "once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you "do whatever he pleases."† Lochiel, however, persevered in going on; he saw Charles, and for a long while stood firm against both argument and entreaty. At length, the young adventurer tried one final appeal to his feelings:—"I am resolved," he exclaimed, "to put all to the hazard. In a "few days I will erect the Royal Standard, and "proclaim to the people of Britain, that Charles

* See Jacobite Memoirs, p. 3.

† Communicated, in 1781, by Fassefern himself to Mr. Home. (History, p. 44.)

"Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his "ancestors, or perish in the attempt. Lochiel, "who, my father has often told me, was our firmest "friend, may stay at home, and learn from the "newspapers the fate of his Prince!" At these glowing words, the sturdy determination of the Chief dissolved like Highland snow before the summer sun. "Not so," he replied much affected; "I will share the fate of my Prince whatever it be, "and so shall every man, over whom nature or "fortune has given me any power." Such, observes Mr. Home, was the singular conversation, on the result of which depended peace or war; for it is a point agreed among the Highlanders, that if Lochiel had persisted in his refusal to take arms, the other chiefs would not have joined the Standard without him, and the spark of rebellion must have instantly expired.

The answer of Sir Alexander Macdonald and Mac Leod, removed as these were from the fascination of Charles's presence—was far less favourable. These two chiefs—perhaps the most powerful in the Highlands, could each have raised from 1200 to 1500 followers. They were then together in the Isle of Skye, where Clanranald had gone in person to urge them. But they alleged, as they might with truth, that their former promise of joining Charles was entirely contingent on his bringing over auxiliaries and supplies, and they also pleaded as an additional motive for delay, that a great number of their men resided in the distant

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islands. Their object being to wait for events, and to side with the victorious, they professed zeal to both parties, but gave assistance to neither: thus, for instance, they wrote to the Government to communicate Charles's arrival in Scotland; but prudently postponed their news till nine days from his landing.*

There were not wanting in Scotland many men to follow such examples; but Lochiel's feeling was that of far the greater number. The Scots have often been reproached with a spirit of sordid gain. The truth is merely—and should it not be matter of praise?—that by their intelligence, their industry, their superior education, they will always, in whatever country, be singled out for employment, and rise high in the social scale. But when a contest lies between selfish security or advancement on one side, and generous impulse or deep-rooted conviction on the other; when danger and conscience beckon onward, and prudence alone calls back; let all History declare whether in any age or in any cause, as followers of Knox or of Montrose, as Cameronians or as Jacobites, the men—aye, and the women—of Scotland, have quailed from any degree of sacrifice or suffering! The very fact

* See Mac Leod's letter in the Culloden Papers, p. 203. He says in the postscript, "Young Clanranald has been here with "us, and has given us all possible assurances of his prudence!" In another letter of August 17. Mac Leod adds, "In my "opinion it would be a very wrong step to draw many of the "troops to Scotland, as there can be but little danger here!"

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that Charles came helpless, obtained him the help of many. They believed him their rightful Prince; and the more destitute that Prince, the more they were bound in loyalty to aid him. Foreign forces, which would have diminished the danger, would also have diminished the duty, and placed him in the light of a hostile invader rather than of a native sovereign. Moreover, Charles was now in the very centre of those tribes, which ever since they were trained by Montrose—such is the stamp that great spirits can imprint upon posterity!—had continued firm and devoted adherents of the House of Stuart. Macdonald of Keppoch, Macdonald of Glengarry, and many other gentlemen, sent or came with warm assurances of service, and after a hasty visit, went off again to collect their men; the 19th of August being fixed for the raising of the Standard and the muster of the forces. Charles, meanwhile, displayed great skill in gaining the affections of the Highlanders around his person: he adopted their national dress, and consulted their national customs, and soon learnt some words of Gaelic, which he used on public occasions*, while all those who conversed with him in English, felt the influence of his fascinating manners. Having disembarked his scanty treasure and arms from the Doutelle, he employed himself in distributing the latter amongst those who seemed best able to serve him. The ship itself he sent back to France with an account of his landing. He paid a farewell

* See Macdonald's Journal, Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 482.

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visit to Mr. Walsh on board, and gave him a letter to James, at Rome, entreating that in reward for his service he should receive the patent of an Irish Earldom.* By the same opportunity he informed his father of his progress:—"I am joined here by "brave people, as I expected: as I have not yet "set up the Standard I cannot tell the number; "... but whatever happens, we shall gain an "immortal honour by doing what we can to deliver "our country in restoring our Master, or perish "sword in hand."†

From Borodale, Charles proceeded in a few days by water to Kinloch Moidart, a better house, belonging to the chief of that name, and about seven miles further. There he remained till the raising of his Standard. There also he was joined by Murray of Broughton, who had hastened from his seat in the south, at Charles's summons, having first performed the perilous duty of having the manifestos, for future distribution, printed. He was appointed by Charles his Secretary of State, and continued to act as such during the remainder of the expedition.

During this time the English Governor at Fort Augustus, alarmed at the vague reports, but undoubted preparations, that were spreading around

* Prince Charles to his father, August 2. 1745. Appendix. I believe that the honour was accordingly conferred, and I was formerly acquainted at Baden with Count Walsh, who was, as I understood, the descendant and representative of this gentleman.

† Letter, August 4, 1745. Appendix.

him, had determined to send a reinforcement to the advanced post at Fort William. On the 16th of August, two companies marched for this service, commanded by Captain Scott. The whole distance is thirty miles: for above twenty, the soldiers marched without molestation, when suddenly, in the narrow ravine of High Bridge, they found themselves beset by a party of Keppoch's Highlanders. Assailed by a destructive fire from the neighbouring heights, and unable to retaliate upon their invisible enemies, they began a retreat; but more Highlanders of Lochiel coming up, and their strength and ammunition being alike exhausted, they were compelled to lay down their arms. Five or six of them had been killed, and about as many wounded; among the latter, Captain Scott himself. All the prisoners were treated with marked humanity, the wounded being carried to Lochiel's own house at Auchnacarrie; nay, more, as the Governor of Fort Augustus would not allow his surgeon to go forth and attend Captain Scott, the generous Chief sent the Captain to the Fort for that object on receiving his parole.

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This success, though of no great importance in itself, served in no small degree to animate the Highlanders on the Raising of the Standard. The day fixed for that ceremony, as I have already mentioned, was the 19th of August; the place Glenfinnan, a desolate and sequestered vale, where the river Finnan flows between high and craggy mountains, and falls into an arm of the sea; it is

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about fifteen miles from Borodale, and as many from Fort William. Charles having left Kinloch Moidart on the 18th, proceeded to the house of Glenaladale, and early next morning embarked in a boat for the place of muster. On arriving, attended only by one or two companies of Macdonalds, he expected to find the whole valley alive with assembled clans; but not one man had come, and Glenfinnan lay before him in its wonted solitude and silence. Uncertain, and anxious for his fate, the Prince entered one of the neighbouring hovels, and waited for about two hours. At length the shrill notes of the pibroch were heard in the distance, and Lochiel and his Camerons appeared on the brow of the hill: they were above six hundred in number, but many without weapons; and they advanced in two lines of three men abreast, between which were the two English companies taken on the 16th, marching as prisoners, and disarmed. On being joined by this noble clan, Charles immediately proceeded to erect the Royal Standard; the place chosen being a little knoll in the midst of the vale. The Marquis of Tullibardine, tottering with age and infirmities, and supported by an attendant on each side, was, as highest in rank, appointed to unfurl the banner: it was of red silk, with a white space in the centre, on which, some weeks afterwards, the celebrated motto, "TANDEM TRIUMPHANS," was inscribed. At the appearance of this Standard, waving in the mountain breeze, and hailed as the

sure pledge of coming battle, the air was rent with shouts, and darkened with bonnets tossed on high; it seemed, says an eye-witness, like a cloud.* Tullibardine, after a little pause, read aloud the manifesto of the old Chevalier, and the Commission of Regency granted to Prince Charles. This was followed by a short speech from the Adventurer himself, asserting his title to the Crown, and declaring that he came for the happiness of his people, and had selected this part of the kingdom because he knew he should find a population of brave gentlemen, willing to live and die with him, as he was resolved at their head to conquer or to perish. Among the spectators, but no willing one, was Captain Swetenham, an English officer, taken prisoner a few days before in proceeding to assume the command at Fort William: he was now dismissed by Charles, after very courteous treatment, and with the words, "You may go to "your General; say what you have seen; and "add that I am coming to give him battle!"

On the same day, but after the ceremony, arrived Keppoch with three hundred of his clan, and other smaller parties. Some gentlemen of the name of Mac Leod came to offer their services, expressing great indignation at the defection of their Chief, and proposing to return to Skye, and raise

* Letter in the Culloden Papers, p. 387., derived from Captain Swetenham's description. On the spot where the standard was raised, there now stands a monument with a Latin inscription. See note to Waverley, vol. i. p. 238. ed. 1829.

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as many men as they could. The little army encamped that night on Glenfillan; O'Sullivan, an Irish officer who had lately joined the Prince, being appointed its Quartermaster-General.* Next morning they began their march, Charles himself proceeding to Lochiel's house of Auchnacarrie, and he was joined by Macdonald of Glencoe with one hundred and fifty men; the Stuarts of Appin, under Ardshiel, with two hundred, and Glengarry the younger, with about the same; so that the united forces marching onwards soon amounted to upwards of sixteen hundred men.

While these things were passing in the Highlands, the established Government was neither prompt in its news, nor successful in its measures. It was not till the 30th of July, Old Style, that we find Lord Tweeddale, the Scottish Secretary of State in London, informed that the young Pretender had sailed from Nantes.† This report was immediately transmitted to Edinburgh; yet, even so late as the morning of the 8th of August, nearly three weeks after Charles's first appearance on the coast, it was

* There seems some uncertainty as to when Mr. O'Sullivan joined the expedition. It is supposed by some persons that he sailed with Charles in the Doutelle, and that Buchanan being considered the Prince's domestic was not included in the number of seven that came on shore. (Jacobite Memoirs, p. 2.) But it is more probable that O'Sullivan afterwards joined Charles on shore—one of several officers who came from France and landed on the east coast of Scotland. (See Culloden Papers, p. 398.)

† Lord Tweeddale to Lord Milton, July 30. 1745. Home's History.

unknown to the authorities at that capital, "I consider the report of the sailing as improbable," writes the Lord President on that day, "because I am confident that young man cannot with reason "expect to be joined by any considerable force in "the Highlands*," and he then proceeds to show how much the Jacobite party was reduced since 1715: it had indeed died away like a fire for want of fuel, while the strength of prescription (the mightiest after all of any) had gathered round the Reigning Family. But then this inference suggests itself—if the Scottish Jacobites even thus diminished, seemed scarcely a minority in 1745—what, under wise direction, might they not have been thirty years before? 1745.

At this period the persons in Edinburgh most relied on by the Government, were first the commander in chief, General Sir John Cope, secondly the Justice Clerk Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, and thirdly the Lord President, Duncan Forbes. The last has been highly, yet not too highly, extolled as a most learned and upright judge, a patriot statesman, a devoted and unwearied assertor of the Protestant succession. Few men ever loved Scotland more, or served it better. Opposing the Jacobites in their conspiracies or their rebellions, but befriending them in their adversity and their distresses, he knew, unlike his colleagues, how to

* Culloden Papers, p. 204. See also p. 360, and 365, and the Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 405, on the diminution of the Jacobites since 1715.

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temper justice with mercy, and at length, offended by his frankness the Government he had upheld by his exertions.* When, in 1715, the jails of England were crowded with Scottish prisoners, plundered, penniless and helpless, Forbes, who had lately borne arms against them in the field, set on foot a subscription to supply them with the means of making a legal defence; and when, on the same occasion, the exasperated Government proposed to remove these misguided but unhappy men from the protection of their native laws, to a trial in England, it was Forbes that stood forward to resist, and finally to prevent, this arbitrary measure. His seat lying in the north, (Culloden House, near Inverness,) he had always repaired thither in the intervals of the Court of Session; he had there cultivated a friendly intercourse with the principal Highland gentlemen, and gained a considerable mastery over the minds of many. He was the link that bound the false and fickle Lovat to the Government; it was mainly through him that Mac Leod, Sir Alexander Macdonald, and several other chiefs, were restrained to a prudent neutrality; it was he who inspirited, guided, and directed the Sutherlands, the Mackays, and the other well affected clans in the north. Even before the news of Charles's landing was fully confirmed, he hastened from Edinburgh to Culloden,

* See some remarks on the character of Duncan Forbes in the Quarterly Review, No. xxviii. p. 321. I believe by Sir Walter Scott.

ready to perform every service that the exigency might demand.

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Sir John Cope, on his part, sent orders for drawing together his troops at Stirling. He had two regiments of dragoons (Gardiner's and Hamilton's), but they were the youngest in the service; and the whole force under his command, exclusive of garrisons, fell short of three thousand men. There were also several companies of a Highland regiment, headed by the Earl of Loudon; these however, besides the doubts of their fidelity, were not at hand for present action, being for the most part in the north, beyond Inverness. Nevertheless, with such force as he could muster, Cope was eager to march forward to the mountains, and crush the rising rebellion in its bud. This scheme he proposed in a letter to the Lords Justices in England, and it was warmly approved; nay, he even received their positive commands to carry it into execution. They also furnished him with a Proclamation, issued in the London Gazette several days before, offering a reward of 30,000*l.* to any person that should seize and secure the pretended Prince of Wales.

Thus instructed by the Government, but at the same time deluded by the Jacobites around him with a multitude of false advices, Sir John set out from Edinburgh on the 19th of August, the very day that Charles was raising his standard at Glenfillan. Next morning he commenced his march from Stirling, at the head of nearly fifteen hundred foot, but leaving behind

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Corry Arrack is a huge precipitous mountain, ascended by a part of Marshal Wade's military road, which winds up in seventeen zig-zags or traverses, before it attains the rugged heights. The pass was known to the country people by the name of the Devil's Staircase, and afforded a most excellent position for defence. Charles, discerning its importance, had determined to occupy it as soon as he heard of Cope's approach; and made a forced march for that object, burning and destroying all incumbrances which could impede his progress, and, that his men might not complain, sacrificing his own personal baggage. Early on the 27th he stood on the north side of Corry Arrack, and

hastened to ascend it, expecting an attack that afternoon and exulting in the expectation. It is recorded, that as he put on his new Highland brogues that morning, he exclaimed with delight, "Before these are unloosed, I shall be up with "Mr. Cope!"* As he walked up he sent forward Macdonald of Lochgarry, and Secretary Murray, expecting that they would see the British troops beginning their ascent on the opposite side. But when they reached the summit, instead of beholding the numerous windings filled with the ascending files of Sir John Cope's army, they gazed on utter solitude. Not a single man appeared. At length, they observed several Highlanders, whom they supposed some of Lord Loudon's, and the British van-guard; but who proved to be deserters, bringing the surprising intelligence that the General had entirely changed his course, and, avoiding the expected battle, was in full march for Inverness.†

For this and for his subsequent conduct, Sir John Cope has sometimes been called a coward, and sometimes a traitor. He was neither. He was a plain, dull officer of indisputable fidelity and courage, who had been previously in action, and behaved respectably under a superior; but endowed with very moderate abilities, and overwhelmed by the feeling of his own responsibility as

* Mr. T. Fraser to the Lord President, August 29. 1745. Culloden Papers.

† Tales of a Grandfather, vol. ii. p. 270.

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chief.* On this occasion he felt that it was in vain to attack the rebels upon Corry Arrack: to remain at Dalwhinnie seemed inactive, to return to Stirling ignominious. What other course then was left but a march to Inverness to join the well-affected clans, with the prospect that the insurgents must be drawn towards the same direction, and would not venture to descend upon the Lowlands while Cope remained in their rear? But Sir John did not trust to his judgment only; he adopted that favourite resource of incapable commanders—a Council of War. No officer was found to advocate remaining near Dalwhinnie; only one urged the alternative of a retreat to Stirling; all the others concurring with their General, gave their signs manual to the plan he proposed. Yet, it certainly was by far the worst of the three; and had the King's troops but kept their ground in front of the rebels, the latter would, probably, either have been checked in their advance, and cooped up in their mountains, or else been obliged to hazard a battle upon equal terms.†

The news of Cope's flight (for such it was con-

* On Cope's character, see Quarterly Review, No. lxxi. p. 177. and also the proceedings on Cope's trial.

† "The military men here think that, though it might not "have been fit for his Majesty's service for Sir John Cope to "attack the rebels, yet that he ought to have staid somewhere "about Dalwhinnie; and, in that case, it would not have been "easy for the rebels to have made such a progress into the "south before him. But as the matter is now over, it is need-"less to enter into a discussion." (Lord Tweeddale to the Lord President, September 10. 1745.

sidered,) filled the Highland host with exultation. The greater number wished to follow and give him battle—a less hazardous course, perhaps, than to march onwards, leaving his army unconquered, to cut off their retreat; but Charles, seeing the superior importance of a descent upon the Lowlands, wisely decided for the latter scheme. It was immediately put into execution. Two days carried him through the rugged mountains of Badenoch; on the third, he beheld the pleasant vale of Athol, expanding to his view. The Grants, of Glenmorriston, to the number of one hundred men, had already come in at Corry Arrack; and as the Highland army descended to the plain, they were joined, like one of their own rivers, by accessions of strength at the mouths of all the little glens which they passed.* Charles was especially eager to secure Lord Lovat, and sent him the most pressing solicitations through Lochiel, together with his patents as Duke of Fraser, and Lord Lieutenant of the northern counties. But the wily old Chief still kept aloof and unengaged: on the one hand, continuing the strongest professions of his allegiance to his neighbour, the Lord President; and at the same time, writing to Lochiel, "My service "to the Prince; I will aid you what I can; but "my prayers are all I can give at present."† Prayers! from such a saint of course doubly precious!—By this conduct, Lovat expected to reap

* Chambers' History, vol. i. p. 79.

† Lord Lovat to the Laird of Lochiel, September 1745.

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profit whichever party prevailed; by this conduct did he ultimately bring his head to the scaffold, and his name to lasting disgrace. When will mankind become convinced that the dirtiest path is always the most slippery!

Charles, however, derived some compensation from one of his detachments, which, after an unsuccessful attempt on the barracks of Ruthven, carried off as a prisoner, perhaps no unwilling one, Lovat's son-in-law, Macpherson of Cluny, the head of a powerful clan. Cluny had been appointed by the Government Captain of an independent Company, but now, after several conversations with Charles, consented to return and raise his men in the Prince's cause. As an apology for his change, he declared to a friend that, "even an angel could not resist "such soothing, close, applications!"* Indeed, the fascination of Charles was acknowledged by every one around him. The Highlanders were delighted at his athletic form and untired energy; like one of Homer's heroes, he overtopped them all in stature†, and they found that he never required from them any hardship or exertion that he was not willing to share. Thus, at Dalwhinnie, he slept with them upon the open moor, sheltered only

* See Culloden Papers, p. 412.

† One of Sir John Cope's spies from Perth described to him the Chevalier, as "in a fine Highland dress laced with gold, "wears a bonnet laced, wears a broadsword, had a green "ribband, but did not see the star; a well made man, taller "than any in his company." (Sir John Cope to the Lord President, September 12. 1745.)

by his plaid. Every day he marched alongside some one or other of their bands, inquiring into their national legends, or listening to their traditionary songs. At table, he partook only of their country dishes, seeming to prefer them to all others: he wished to be, as he said, "a true Highlander," and his few phrases of Gaelic were used whenever occasion offered. On the other hand, the simple and enthusiastic Highlanders were prepared to find or to fancy every possible merit in their long expected Prince. Upon the whole, it might be questioned whether any chief has ever, in so short a period, so greatly endeared himself to his followers. CHAP. XXVII. 1745.

On the 30th of August, Charles reached Blair, the seat of the Duke of Athol, who hastily fled at his approach, while Tullibardine resumed possession of his paternal halls, and gave a stately banquet to his young master and his ancient vassals. Charles remained at Blair two days, during which he was joined by several gentlemen of note: Mr. Oliphant of Gask, Mr. Mercer of Aldie, Mr. Murray, brother of the Earl of Dunmore, Lord Strathallan, with his son, and Lord Nairn, the son of the Peer who had been attainted and condemned to death in 1716.* Still marching onwards, the vanguard of the insurgents arrived at Perth on the 3d of September, and the Prince made his public entry on horseback, and amidst loud acclamations

* See vol. i. p. 291.

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the next day. Unlike his father, he did not proceed to the neighbouring palace of Scone, but took up his residence at an antique house in the town, belonging, as Scone, to Lord Stormont. Here he remained a week to collect supplies and to muster his men. Of the 4,000 louis d'ors brought with him, he had remaining on the day he came to Perth but a single one, which he showed to Mr. Kelly, saying that he would soon get more.* Accordingly, he sent out parties through Angus and Fife, who, while they proclaimed "King James the Eighth" in the principal towns, enlisted a few men and levied a little public money. From the city of Perth he obtained 500*l.*, and several voluntary offerings reached him from his partisans at Edinburgh. All the strangers, however, whom Charles found at Perth attending the fair, received his passports, to protect their persons and goods from depredation; and with several of them he courteously conversed, amongst others with a linen-draper from London, whom he desired to inform his fellow-citizens that he expected to see them at St. James's in the course of two months. Nor was he less busily employed in bringing into some degree of order, the ill-assorted elements of his little army; one day he held a public review upon the North Inch, and could not suppress a smile at the awkwardness of some of the new recruits. Every morning he rose early to drill the troops; and it is recorded

* Home's History, p. 75. note.

that one night, when invited to a great ball by the ladies of Perth, he had no sooner danced one measure than he made his bow and withdrew, alleging the necessity of visiting his sentry posts. It is added, that the Perth ladies—thinking, of course, that no business could possibly be so important as their ball—were grievously surprised and offended at the shortness of his stay.*

At this period Charles received two most valuable accessions to his cause, in the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray. The former brought with him about 200 of his men; the latter was of great use in raising the tenantry of his brother, the Duke of Athol; and both were created Lieutenant Generals in the Prince's service. James Drummond, titular Duke of Perth, was grandson of the Chancellor of James the Second in Scotland, and had received his education in France.† His character was amiable rather than able, of courtly manners, conciliatory temper, and dauntless bravery, but very young, and unskilled either in politics or war. A warrant had been issued for his apprehension by the Government, as a suspected person, about the time of Charles's landing. Captain Campbell, who was charged with the execution of this warrant, had first, in a spirit very unlike a

* Chambers' History, vol. i. p. 87.

† "The Duchess of Perth carried off her sons to France (in "1720) as soon as she heard of the Duke their father's death." (Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 42.) She was a most vehement Roman Catholic. (Tindal's Hist. vol. ix. p. 165.)

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British officer's, procured for himself an invitation to dine at Drummond Castle, directing his men to draw as near as they could without raising the alarm, and then, at dessert, told His Grace that he was his prisoner. The Duke received the tidings very coolly, saying there was no help for it; but in leaving the apartment he made the Captain, as if in courtesy, pass before him, and then suddenly starting back and locking the door, escaped by a private staircase from the house into the wood. He was quickly followed and might perhaps have been retaken, had he not found a pony and leaped upon its back, without saddle or bridle, and only a halter on its head. By this means he made his way from his pursuers, and lay concealed in the neighbouring Highlands until, on the approach of Charles, he joined him with as many of his men as he could raise.

Lord George Murray was both an older and an abler man. With his brother Tullibardine he had taken part in the rebellion of 1715; he had been at the fight of Glenshiel in 1719, and had afterwards served for some years in the Sardinian army. Being then pardoned by the Government he had since lived quietly on his estate in Scotland, had married, and was the father of a family*: nay, as it is said,

* Lord George was the ancestor of the present Duke of Athol. He has left a Military Memoir on the marches of the insurgent army, (printed in the Jacobite Memoirs, p. 29—130.) which is very clear and able, but dwelling a little too much on his own services. His letter on the battle of Culloden appears in Home's Appendix, p. 359—370.

he had even solicited a commission in the British army, which was however refused. He was by far the most skilful officer that appeared with the insurgents in the whole course of this rebellion. His personal hardihood and bravery, however conspicuous, might be rivalled by many others; but none could vie with him in planning a campaign, providing against disasters, or improving victory. Yet so far was he from being a formal tactician or lover of strict rule, that he strongly advised the Prince to trust to the national weapons and mode of fighting of the Highlanders, with some improvements of discipline, rather than attempt to instruct them in any more scientific manœuvres. But the merits of Lord George, as a commander, were dashed by no small waywardness of temper, an impatience of contradiction, a blunt and supercilious address. A rivalry almost immediately sprung up between him and the Duke of Perth; which, as we shall find, afterwards ripened into a quarrel very hurtful to their common cause. In these broils the part of the Duke was always espoused by Secretary Murray, an able and active, but selfish and intriguing man, who expected to wield a greater influence over Perth than over the superior genius of Lord George. Sir Thomas Sheridan also, whom Lord George once or twice fiercely rebuked for his ignorance of the British Laws and Constitution, became of course his personal enemy; and the Prince himself, who was equally ignorant

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upon those subjects, was often offended at his disrespectful tone.

1745. From Perth, Charles dispatched a letter to the Earl of Barrymore in London, urging his party to strenuous exertions.* He also caused to be printed, and circulated as widely as possible, his Father's Proclamations and his own. Besides those put forth at his landing, he had been prevailed upon to issue a reprisal for that of the Established Government, setting a price of 30,000*l.* upon his head. For several days Charles stubbornly refused to follow what he termed "a practice so unusual "among Christian Princes;" he only yielded, at length, to the necessity of conciliating his officers, and then insisted that the price in his Proclamation should be no more than 30*l.* Fresh importunities at last induced him to extend it to the same amount as in the Government†; saying, however, he was confident no follower of his would ever think of doing anything to merit such a reward. This generosity of Charles was more than once carried to a romantic extreme: thus, as we shall see hereafter, his reluctance to punish some acts or attempts of assassination, even to his own peril, provoked the discontent and murmurs of his army.

* Examination of Mr. Murray of Broughton, August 13. 1746. Appendix.

† See this document in the Collection of Declarations, &c. p. 22. signed Charles P. R. and countersigned John Murray. The concluding words are: "Should any fatal accident happen "from hence, let the blame lie entirely at the door of those who "first set the infamous example."

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During their stay at Perth news reached the insurgents, that General Cope, deeply mortified at their descent into the Lowlands, was directing his march from Inverness to Aberdeen, with the intention of embarking his army, and returning with it for the protection of the capital.* On these tidings Charles formed his plans,—not like Lord Mar's, to stand at gaze and wait for others to help him—but to forestall his enemy's movement upon Edinburgh, by a movement of his own. Having completed his scanty preparations, he resumed his adventurous march on the 11th of September. It was found no easy matter to draw the Highlanders from their good quarters at Perth; but the Prince went first with the vanguard, and the rest joined him at Dumblane. "It was in this neighbourhood," observes one of the officers, "that "many of our fathers, and several of us now with "the Prince, fought for the same cause, just thirty "years before, at the battle of Sheriff muir."† On the 13th they proceeded to the Fords of Frew, about eight miles above Stirling; since they could not cross the Frith, where several of the King's ships were stationed, nor yet the bridge of Stirling, which is commanded by the cannon of the castle. But at the Fords of Frew, the river being low at this

* This intelligence is first mentioned in a letter of Lord George Murray's in the night of Saturday the 7th September. (Jacobite Memoirs.)

† Macdonald's Journal, (Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 486.)

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season, they passed without difficulty; and Gardiner's dragoons, who had been left behind by Cope, retired before them, designing to fall back upon the other regiment which was now lying at Leith. As the insurgents marched on, the sight of their Royal Standard provoked some cannon shot from Stirling Castle, aimed, it is said, at Charles himself, but without effect; the town however gladly opened its gates, and furnished its provisions. Every thing was paid for, discipline being strictly maintained by the exertions of the officers; and Lochiel, finding one of his men plunder in spite of his repeated orders, shot him dead upon the spot.*

The army was now passing over the plain of Bannockburn: on the next evening, the 14th, they were quartered in the town of Falkirk, or lay in some broom fields near Callender House. Charles himself was entertained at that mansion by its owner, the Earl of Kilmarnock, who hailed him as his sovereign, and assured him of his future services. According to the information given by the Earl, Gardiner's dragoons had intended to dispute the passage of Linlithgow Bridge next day, and the Prince, hoping to surprise them, sent forward before daybreak a detachment of a thousand Highlanders under Lord George Murray; but they found that the dragoons had decamped the evening before, and quietly took possession of the town and

* Chambers' History, vol. i. p. 104.

its ancient palace. A few hours later they were joined by the Prince in person, and his vanguard pushed forward to Kirkliston, only eight miles from Edinburgh. All the ground thus traversed by the insurgents is fraught with the brightest recollections of Scottish story. On that field of Bannockburn had Liberty and The Bruce prevailed—that palace of Linlithgow was the birthplace of the ill-fated Mary, and afterwards her dwelling in hours — alas how brief and few! — of peaceful sovereignty and honourable fame — those battlements of Stirling had guarded the cradle of her infant son—there rose the Torwood where Wallace sought shelter from the English invaders—yonder flowed the Forth, which so often had "bridled the wild Highlandman." Surely even a passing stranger could never gaze on such scenes without emotion—still less any one intent on like deeds of chivalrous renown—least of all the youthful heir of Robert Bruce and of the long line of Stuart Kings!

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Meanwhile the citizens of the capital, like a stormy sea tossing with successive billows, had been agitated by every alternation, according to the rumours that reached them, of presumptuous confidence or of craven fear. But little concern appeared at the first news of the insurgents. None of the friends of Government doubted their speedy dispersion or defeat; while the Jacobites (there, as elsewhere in Scotland, a very considerable party,) concealed their secret hopes under an affected

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derision of the enterprise, and of all the measures adopted to quell it. But when the tidings came that Cope had marched to Inverness, and that Charles was descending from the mountains, the well-disposed inhabitants were struck with consternation, much heightened by the succeeding intelligence, that the Prince had already entered Perth. The Government newspaper indeed, the Edinburgh Evening Courant, continued to speak of the Highlanders in arms with most utter contempt, as "a pitiful "ignorant crew, good for nothing, and incapable of "giving any reason for their proceedings, but talking "only of SNISHING (~~tobacco~~), KING JAMESH, TA "RASHANT (the Regent), PLUNTER, and NEW "PROGUES!"* But this confident language was belied by the activity with which the preparations for defending the city were now pursued. A few days later, however, the magistrates and the inhabitants reverted to their feelings of security from the arrival of one of Sir John Cope's Captains, directing that transports for his embarkation might be immediately despatched to Aberdeen. These transports accordingly sailed on September the 10th; and from that time, says an eye-witness, the people of Edinburgh were continually looking up to the vanes and the weathercocks†, as conscious that their destiny hung suspended on the winds. But who shall describe their fresh panic, when they learnt that the young Pretender had not only passed the Forth,

* This extract is given in Mr. Chambers' History, vol. i. p. 125.

† Home's Hist. p. 63.

but that, driving the King's dragoons before him, he was actually within a few miles of their walls! Against this danger the Castle of Edinburgh stood secure in its inaccessible position, and held a sufficient garrison, commanded by General Guest, an intrepid veteran. The city, on the other hand, was protected only by an antique rampart of varying height, from ten to twenty feet, which was embattled, but with parapets in most places too narrow for mounting cannon, and on the whole but little stronger than a common garden wall. Some fortifications indeed, but hasty, slight and incomplete, were added in this emergency, under the direction of Professor Mac Laurin, the celebrated mathematician.* The defenders were still more contemptible than the defences. There was a Town Guard, of which the value may sufficiently be estimated from their conduct in the Porteous Mob.† There were Trained Bands of militia, but these had never been called out since the Revolution, except for a yearly parade on His Majesty's birthday, and a dinner afterwards. There were also some volunteers, who had offered their services at this crisis; but their number never exceeded four hundred, and they required to be taught the first elements of military discipline. All these forces were under the authority of the Lord Provost, Archibald Stewart, who was afterwards subjected to a long imprisonment and a harassing trial, for alleged

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* See Provost Stewart's Trial, p. 39. &c.

† See vol. ii. p. 289.

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breach of duty at this period. It is probable that his own principles were not free from a secret Jacobite bias; but nevertheless it was proved on the clearest evidence, and to the satisfaction of the jury, that he had honestly acted for King George, and had failed from want of means, or perhaps of capacity, but not from any traitorous design.*

The dragoons of Colonel Gardiner having now retired before the rebels to Corstorphine, within three miles of the city, and resolving to make a stand, sent for the second regiment from Leith; and it was proposed that they should also be supported by the City Guard, and by the body of volunteers. To collect the latter, the fire-bell, an ominous signal, began to toll on Sunday, the 15th, in the midst of divine service; the churches were emptied in an instant, and the congregations pouring out into the streets beheld the volunteers arrive under arms, and Hamilton's regiment ride through on its way to Corstorphine. As the dragoons appeared the volunteers hailed them with loud huzzas, in token of their own alacrity, which the dragoons returned with similar shouts and with the clashing of their swords. At these warlike sights and sounds, the female friends and relatives of the volunteers were filled with consternation, and clung around the objects of their tenderness with tears and entreaties

* See the proceedings of this trial, which began March 24, 1747, and which affords much minute and authentic information on the surrender of the city. Stewart was certainly very harshly dealt with by the Government.

to consult their precious safety. Sir Walter Scott truly observes, that there is nothing of which men in general are more easily persuaded, than of the extreme value of their own lives; and a further argument was supplied by a clergyman present, who declared that such valiant men ought not to sally forth, but reserve themselves for the defence of the city walls. The effect of these exhortations was soon apparent. When the regiment of volunteers was directed to move on, the files grew thinner and thinner; man after man dropped off; from hundreds they dwindled to tens, from tens almost to units; and at last, when their commander, Mr. Drummond, had passed the gates and looked round, he was amazed to find only one or two dozen in his train. One of their number, afterwards, in very sublime and suitable language, compared their march to the course of the Rhine, a noble river as it rolls its waves to Holland, but which, being then continually drawn off by little canals, becomes only a small rivulet, and is almost lost in the sands before reaching the ocean.*

On this occasion, however, the prudence of the soldier citizens was not destined to be shamed by any superiority in the regular troops. The command of the latter was assumed on Sunday night,

* See Quarterly Review, No. lxxi. p. 173. Another volunteer, a writing master, assumed for his march what has been termed "a professional cuirass," namely, two quires of long foolscap paper, which he tied round his valiant bosom; but still, for fear of accidents, wrote upon them as follows: "This is the "body of John Mac Lure; pray give it Christian burial!"

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by Brigadier Fowkes, who had been despatched from London, and had just landed at Leith. By this new chief the dragoons and Town Guard were drawn up at the Colt Bridge, a little nearer the city than Corstorphine. There on the Monday morning, they were, at Prince Charles's order, reconnoitred by a party of mounted gentlemen from the Highland army, who, as they rode up, discharged their pistols in the usual manner of skirmishers. Immediately, the dragoon piquets were seized with an unaccountable panic: that panic was communicated to the main body; and the officers, after vainly endeavouring to check, were compelled to share their shameful flight. Within half an hour, the inhabitants of Edinburgh were dismayed or rejoiced, according as their principles inclined them, to see these dragoons galloping along in the greatest confusion over the ground where the New Town at present stands. No sense of honour, no respect to orders could arrest them; they scarcely halted till they came to Preston, where they quartered for the night near the house and grounds of their own chief—the excellent and deeply afflicted Colonel Gardiner. But after dark, one of the men going in quest of forage happened to fall into a disused coal-pit full of water, and his outcry for assistance was mistaken by his comrades for an alarm that the Highlanders were coming; upon which they instantly remounted their horses, and resumed their race through the night, never stopping till they reached the shores of Dunbar.

The "Canter of Coltbrigg," as this disgraceful flight has been popularly called, might well have damped much stouter hearts than now remained for the defence of Edinburgh. Even previously, they had been greatly alarmed at a message brought them by one Mr. Alves, who stated that, having approached the rebel army by accident, he had there seen the Duke of Perth, to whom he was personally known. "The Duke," continued Mr. Alves, "desired me to inform the citizens of "Edinburgh, that if they opened their gates their "town should be favourably treated, but that if they "attempted resistance they must expect military "execution, and his Grace ended by addressing a "young man near him with the title of Royal "Highness, and desiring to know if such were not "his pleasure, to which the other assented." This message being publicly delivered, (for which piece of imprudence or of treachery, Mr. Alves was committed to prison,) seemed to produce a general feeling of aversion to any further measures of defence; an aversion speedily heightened into panic terror by the rout of the dragoons. In this emergency the Provost called a meeting of the magistracy that same afternoon, and sent also for the Crown officers to require their advice, but these, with infinite prudence, had already quitted the city.

The magistrates having met, and many unauthorised persons pressing in amidst the general confusion, the question, "Defend, or not defend the "town?" was put, and but very few voices declared

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in favour of the former. But in the height of the debate, or rather of the din, a letter addressed to the Provost and Town Council was handed in at the door, and, being opened, appeared subscribed "Charles P. R." The Provost rose and protested against reading any such letter: it was read nevertheless, and was found to contain a summons to surrender, with a promise to preserve all the rights and liberties of the city, and the property of every individual. "But," it added, "if any opposition "be made to us, we cannot answer for the conse-"quences, being firmly resolved, at any rate, to "enter the city; and if any of the inhabitants are "found in arms against us, they must not expect "to be treated as prisoners of war."* This letter, though it increased the cry against resistance, did not lead to any definite resolution, and it was at length agreed, as a middle course, to send out a deputation to the Prince, entreating a suspension of hostilities, and time for full deliberation.

Scarcely had the deputation set forth on their errand, when the citizens were once again inclined towards warlike counsels, by the arrival of an express, with news that Cope's transports were already in sight of Dunbar, and that the General would immediately proceed to land his men, and march for the relief of the city. It appeared, therefore, that a few hours of delay or of defence might be sufficient to save the capital of Scotland; and various

* This letter was produced at Provost Stewart's trial, (p. 113.), and is printed in Home's History, p. 92.

measures for that object were submitted to General Guest, and to the magistrates—all, however, on examination rejected as impracticable. CHAP. XXVII. 1745.

About ten o'clock at night the deputation returned; they had found the young Chevalier at Gray's Mill, within two miles of the city, and brought back another letter from him, appealing to his own and to his father's Declarations, as sufficient security, and demanding a positive reply before two in the morning. Thus pressed for time the bewildered magistrates could think of no better expedient, than to send a second deputation to Gray's Mill, with renewed entreaties for delay. This deputation, however, the Prince refused to admit into his presence, and they were obliged to return without any answer.

During this anxious night Charles slept only two hours, without taking off his clothes. Fully conscious of the value of time at this crisis, and afraid that the negotiation would lead to no result, he resolved to storm or surprise the city at daybreak; and sent forward Lochiel and Murray of Broughton with five hundred Camerons, to watch any favourable opportunity. They carried with them a barrel of powder, to blow up one of the gates, if necessary. Arriving, without discovery, close to the Netherbow Port, they lay in ambush near it; when, as it happened, about five in the morning, the hackney coach which had conveyed the second deputation to Gray's Mill, drove up to the gate from within, the coachman having completed his

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business, and wishing to return to his stables in the suburb of Canongate. The sentinels, knowing that the man had been that night engaged in the service of the magistrates, readily opened the gate to let him go home. But no sooner were the portals disclosed, than the foremost Highlanders rushed in, overpowered and secured the watchmen, and seized the guard-house. Immediately sending parties round the inner circuit, to the other gates, they secured these also, without bloodshed or disturbance. It passed as quietly, says a person present, as one guard relieves another; and when the inhabitants of Edinburgh awoke in the morning, they found that the Highlanders were masters of their city.*

At the first break of dawn the Camerons were marched up to the Cross, where they stood (so strictly was discipline maintained!) from six o'clock till eleven, in perfect order, refusing the whiskey that was offered them, and refraining from all plunder, though in a city taken, as it were by storm, and surrounded by so many objects of temptation. At noon the old Cross—already so renowned in the Scottish annals—became the scene of another striking ceremony. The Heralds and Pursuivants, arrayed in their antique and glittering dresses of office, were compelled to proclaim King James the Eighth, and to read the Royal Declarations and Commission of Regency, while the bagpipes were

* Home's History, p. 96.

not wanting in their music, nor the populace in its acclamations; and a thousand fair hands, from the neighbouring windows and balconies, waved white handkerchiefs in honour of the day. One lady of distinguished beauty, Mrs. Murray of Broughton, sate on horseback, beside the Cross, raising a drawn sword in one hand, and with the other distributing the white ribbons that denoted attachment to the House of Stuart. The old days of Scottish chivalry appeared to have returned.

At nearly the same hour of the same memorable 17th of September, Charles, till then at the head of his advancing troops, set forth to take possession of the palace of his ancestors. To avoid the fire of the Castle, he made a considerable circuit to the south; he entered the King's Park by a breach which had been made in the wall*, and approached Holyrood House by the Duke's Walk, so termed because it had been the favourite resort of his grandfather, as Duke of York, during his residence in Scotland. His march had begun on foot, but the enthusiastic crowd which pressed around him, eager to kiss his hand, or even to touch his clothes, nearly threw him down: he therefore mounted his charger, having on his right the Duke of Perth, on his left Lord Elcho, who had joined him the night before. His noble mien and his graceful horsemanship could not fail to strike even the most indifferent spectators; and they were scarcely less pleased at

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 446.

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his national dress—a tartan coat, a blue bonnet with a white cockade, and the star of the order of St. Andrew. With fonder partiality, the Jacobites compared his features to those of his ancestor Robert Bruce, or sought some other resemblance in that picture-gallery at Holyrood, which, according to their boast, contains so many undoubted originals of Kings who lived so many centuries before the invention of painting. On this occasion, indeed, the joy of the Jacobites knew no bound; and their feelings, long dissembled or pent in, from compliance with the times, now burst forth in exuberant and overflowing transports. The air resounded with their rapturous acclamations, and as Charles rode onwards, his boots were dimmed with their kisses and tears.*

As Charles came in front of Holyrood House, the garrison of the Castle, informed of his progress, and eager if possible to arrest it, fired a cannon ball with such direction as to make it descend upon the palace. It did, however, but little injury, striking obliquely a part of James the Fifth's tower, and falling into the court yard, followed by a quantity of rubbish. The Prince, undismayed at this accident, was about to enter the porch, when a gentleman stepped from the crowd, drew his sword, and raising it aloft marshalled the way up stairs. This was James Hepburn of Keith, who had taken an active part in the rebellion of 1715; and had ever since

* Chambers' History, vol. i. p. 136.

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continued devoted to the Stuart cause. His main motive was abhorrence of the Act of Union; while even his political enemies, admiring him as "a "model of ancient simplicity, manliness, and "honour," lamented that he should sacrifice himself to a visionary idea of Scottish independence.*

In the evening the long deserted chambers of the palace were enlivened with a splendid ball, and, as on the eve of another great battle — "bright the lamps shone o'er fair women and brave "men," and "a thousand hearts beat happily."† — Charles showed that neither the fatigue of the previous march, nor the anxiety of the coming conflict, could impair his natural vivacity and powers of pleasing; and the ladies were loud in his praises, many of the younger, perhaps, thinking that the cause of so handsome a Prince and so graceful a dancer could not possibly be wrong.

Next morning was devoted to more serious cares. The Standard had lately been joined by several persons of distinction, the Earl of Kellie, Lord Balmerino, Sir Stuart Threipland, Sir David Murray, Lockhart the younger of Carnwath, (his grandfather, James's correspondent, had died in 1732,) and several other Lowland gentlemen. From the magazine of Edinburgh Charles obtained about a thousand muskets, which served to arm many of

* Home's History p. 101.

† I need scarcely quote—for who does not know and admire? — the beautiful stanzas on the Duchess of Richmond's ball at Brussels in 1815. Childe Harold, canto iii.

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his Highlanders, still leaving however several unprovided. He also laid upon the city a requisition for tents, targets, shoes, and canteens. Few of the burghers showed any inclination to enlist in his service; but on the next day after his entry Lord Nairn, who had been left in the north to gather reinforcements, came up with five hundred men consisting of the clan Mac Lauchlan, with their chief and other Highlanders from Athol. All these forces — the new and the old — were passed in review at the camp before the Prince, and he announced his resolution to lead them forward against Sir John Cope, and give him battle—a courageous measure, to which he obtained the consent of all the officers.

The leisure left to Charles for repose or preparation at Edinburgh was only one entire day, the 18th; on the night of Thursday, the 19th, he came to the village of Duddingstone, and the troops lay upon their arms. Calling a council of war, the Prince proposed to march next morning, and meet the enemy half-way; this being agreed to, he next asked the chiefs how they thought their men would behave. The chiefs desired Keppoch to answer for them, since he had served in the French army, and was well acquainted with the difference between Highlanders and regular troops. Keppoch said, that as the country had been long at peace, few or none of the private men had ever seen a battle, and it was not very easy to say how they would behave; but he would venture to assure His

Royal Highness that the gentlemen would be in the midst of the enemy, and that the private men, as they loved the cause and loved their chiefs, would certainly follow them. Charles then declared that he would lead them on himself, and charge in the first ranks. But here a general outcry ensued; the chiefs exclaimed that they were ruined and undone, for if any accident befell His Royal Highness, a defeat or a victory must be the same to them; and on Charles's persisting they said they would then return home, and make the best terms they could for themselves. The Prince was therefore compelled to yield, declaring, however, that at least he would lead the second line.

Early on the morning of the 20th, the Highlanders began their march in a single narrow column, and with joyous anticipations of victory. As Charles put himself at their head, he drew his sword, and said to them, "Gentlemen, I have flung "away the scabbard," which was answered by loud cheers. Their cavalry scarcely amounted to fifty being only some gentlemen and their retainers on horseback; but their numbers altogether were about 2500.* They had but a single piece of artillery, an iron gun, which was fired as the signal of march, but was useless for any other military purpose. Charles had expressed a wish to leave

* See the answers of Mr. Patullo, Muster-master General to the Rebel Army, and Mr. Home's note in his Appendix, p. 331. See also a long and valuable note (by the editor) to Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 29., octavo ed.

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this encumbrance behind him, but to his surprise the Highland chiefs interposed, pleading the prejudices of their followers in favour of the "Musket's Mother," as they termed any cannon; and accordingly it followed the march, drawn by a long string of Highland ponies. The DUNNIE WASSAILS, and the best men in each clan, were excellently armed; but even after the supply from Edinburgh, several of the inferior followers could only boast a single weapon, a sword, a dirk, a pistol, or even a scythe-blade, set straight upon the handle. Besides the Royal Standard, each clan displayed its banner inscribed with its gathering words, such as those of Clanranald, DHANDEON CO HERIGHA (Gainsay who dares), of Mac Gregor, "E'en do and spare "not," or of Athol, "Forth Fortune, and fill the "Fetters." In this guise did the men march on, interrupted only by some straggling shots from the Castle, and soon disappearing beyond its reach.

I must now advert to Sir John Cope's proceedings. That General was landing his army at Dunbar on the same day that his enemy's entered Edinburgh: his disembarkation, however, was not completed till the 18th. He had been re-inforc 1 at Inverness by 200 of Lord Loudon's men, and was joined at Dunbar by the runaway dragoons, in number 600, so that his whole force was upwards of 2200 men. A very few gentlemen from the Lowlands also came to him as volunteers, but brought no accession of force; the principal of them, the Earl of Home, being attended only by two servants.

Even so late as 1633, the Earl of Home of that day had come to greet Charles the First at the head of 600 well mounted men, his relations and retainers. The change was, no doubt, mainly owing to the decline of feudal power; but it also, in some degree, denotes the state of popular feeling in Scotland, and the difference between raising men for or against the House of Stuart.

The King's troops at Dunbar became likewise the refuge of the Judges and other Crown Officers who had fled from Edinburgh before its capture, but who expected to be soon and triumphantly restored. One of the volunteers — Mr. Home, afterwards the author of Douglas — had remained a little longer in the capital to observe the force and appearance of the rebel army, and now brought Cope an accurate report of it. Sir John's own forces, besides being very nearly equal to the enemy's, were well equipped and in high spirits, the infantry seeming eager to augment, and the dragoons to retrieve, their reputation. He had six pieces of artillery,—a most effective arm against Highlanders; and not only the country people, who flocked from all quarters to gaze on the array, but many of the Royal officers were convinced that there would be no battle, but only a pursuit, as soon as their strength was seen and understood by their opponents. *

* Home's History, p. 107. He adds, "It is doubtful whether "the people who talked in this manner really thought so; but "such was the tone of the army, and whoever did not hold the "same language was looked upon as a lukewarm friend."

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Beginning his march on the 19th, Sir John Cope encamped that night near Haddington, and resumed his advance next morning. He expected that the Highlanders — if indeed they awaited his approach — would be met along the common highway; but, on the contrary, after passing the bridge of Musselburgh, they had turned inland to their right, to obtain the advantage of the rising ground; and they occupied the brow of Carberry Hill, the spot marked in former years by the surrender of the unhappy Mary. The English General, hoping to obtain early intelligence of their movements, had sent forward two of the Edinburgh volunteers; who however proved as incompetent for this as for every other military duty.* Cope received no report; and thus, on the 20th, after having marched about eight miles, while he continued to look out for the rebels to the west, he suddenly saw them appear on the ridge to the southward. Immediately he changed his front, and drew up his troops in order of battle, his foot in the centre, with a regiment of dragoons and three pieces of artillery on each wing. His right was covered by Colonel Gardiner's park wall and by the village of Preston; at some distance on his left stood Seton House; and the sea, with the villages of Preston Pans and Cockenzie, lay upon his rear.

* See a minute account of their adventures, Quarterly Review, No. lxxi. p. 177. It seems that these two doughty warriors could not resist the temptation of some excellent oysters and sherry at a well remembered publichouse, and were both taken prisoners by a young lad, an attorney's clerk.

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When the Royal troops first perceived the insurgents they set up a loud shout of defiance, which was promptly answered by the Highland yell. The two armies were less than a mile apart; the Prince's occupying the ridge beyond the little town of Tranent, with a gentle descent and a deep morass between them and their enemy. It was now about three in the afternoon *, and Charles was desirous to indulge the impatience of his troops by an onset the same day. First, however, to reconnoitre the ground, he sent forward one of his officers, Ker of Gradon, who, mounted upon a little white pony, rode down the hill in front of the enemy with the utmost coolness. Disregarding several shots that were fired at him in the discharge of his duty, he examined the ground with great care and in several directions; and on coming to one or two walls of dry stone that intersected it, he deliberately alighted, pulled down gaps and led his horse over them. He then returned to the Prince and assured him that the morass was deep and difficult, and could not be passed to attack the English in front without risking the loss of the whole army.† Charles accordingly desisted from his purpose, to the great dissatisfaction of the common Highlanders, who supposed that the enemy intended to escape from them as before at Corry

* Macdonald's Journal, (Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 489.) Mr. Chambers, on less good authority, says noon.

† Compare Home's History, p. 111. with the Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 448.

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Arrack; nor were they appeased until Lord Nairn with 500 men was detached to the westward, so as to prevent Sir John Cope from stealing off towards Edinburgh, had he so designed, unperceived and unopposed.

Meanwhile the English General being satisfied with the strength of his position, damped the spirit of his men by remaining thus cautiously on the defensive. In vain did Colonel Gardiner urge upon him the necessity of bolder measures; the only aggression of the King's troops that afternoon was to fire a few cannon shots and dislodge a party of Highlanders from the churchyard at Tranent. The two armies lay that night (it proved dark and cold) upon their ground; Cope, however, retiring to more comfortable quarters at Cockenzie, but Charles sleeping amidst his soldiers in a field of pease made up into ricks.*

But earlier in that evening the young Adventurer and his principal followers had met in council, and agreed at all hazards, to make their attack next morning opposite Tranent, where the morass seemed less impervious; and for many hours did

* It was long remembered at Tranent, that late that afternoon Prince Charles, attended by the Duke of Perth and another officer, went into the little inn of that village to dine. They had some coarse *kail*, or broth, and then the meat from which it had been made; but as the landlady had previously concealed her little service of pewter for fear of the Highlanders, they had only two wooden spoons among the three, and one butcher's knife to cut the meat, which they then eat with their fingers. (Chambers' History, vol. i. p. 163.) A curious picture of a Prince on the eve of a victory.

their minds continue to revolve their hazardous determination. Amongst them was Anderson of Whitburgh, a gentleman well acquainted with the neighbouring country, who, in the middle of the night, suddenly bethought himself of a path that from the heights where they lay wound to their right by the farm of Ringan Head, avoiding in a great measure the morass, and leading to the plain below. This important fact he imparted first to Hepburn of Keith, and then to Lord George Murray, who immediately went with him to awaken Charles. The Prince sat up on his bed of pease-straw, and heard with joy the tidings that assured him of speedy battle, more especially when Anderson undertook to act as his guide. He sent for Lochiel and some other chiefs, and finding their opinion concur with his own, he prepared at once (for by this time the night was well nigh spent) to execute the scheme. An aide-de-camp having been sent to recall Lord Nairn and his detachment, the troops got under arms, and began to move forward with equal silence and speed, Anderson leading the way. The path was found lonely and unguarded, and the morass was passed without much difficulty, though even in this selected place several Highlanders sunk knee deep, and the Prince himself stumbled and fell. Soon, however, they reached the firm ground, concealed from the enemy first by the darkness, and when day began to break, by a frosty mist. On the plain, however, the dragoon outposts heard the

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sound of their march, and firing their pistols, galloped off to give the alarm; but as a surprise had formed no part of the insurgents' scheme, they were not discomposed, and only hastened to form themselves in line of battle. There had been some warm discussion as to which clan should obtain the honours of the right: it was claimed by the Macdonalds, and in prudence, but reluctantly, was yielded by the Camerons and Stuarts. Charles put himself at the head of the second line, which was close behind the first, and addressed them in these words: — "Follow me, gentlemen, and by the blessing "of God, I will this day make you a free and "happy people!"

On the other part Sir John Cope lost no time in disposing his troops, his order of battle being nearly the same as when he first saw the enemy on the previous day, except that the men's faces were now turned in the opposite direction, towards the east instead of towards the west. His infantry stood in the centre, Hamilton's dragoons on his left, and Gardiner's, with the artillery before them, on his right next the morass. The mists now rolling away before the rising sun revealed to each army the position of the other. But the Highlanders did not long stand at gaze. First, with uncovered heads, uttering a short prayer, they pulled their bonnets over their brows, and as the pipers blew the signal, they rushed forward, each clan a separate mass, and raising a war-cry that gradually rose into a terrific yell.

The first reached was the Royal Artillery which was not served by regular gunners, but by some seamen whom Cope had hastily collected from the fleet. The Camerons and Stuarts, running straight on the muzzles of the cannon, took them by storm, while the scared artillerymen dispersed in all directions. Colonel Gardiner now commanded a charge upon the advancing enemy, encouraging both by voice and example his dragoons. But these receiving a heavy rolling fire from the Highlanders, and seeing them come on with their drawn broad-swords, wavered — gave way — and struck with a panic, galloped off in all directions. On the right, at nearly the same time, and nearly the same manner, did the Macdonalds scatter Hamilton's regiment before them. The English infantry now remained uncovered at both flanks, but yet undismayed, and poured upon the Highland centre a steady and well-directed fire, before which several of their best men fell. Amongst these was James Mac Gregor, a son of the well-known Rob Roy; who, though struck by five wounds, still continued from the ground to call out and animate his men. But on coming to close quarters, the Highlanders parried with their targets the soldiers' bayonets, and the separate masses of the clans broke through on several points the extended line of the King's army; by which means the whole of the latter was thrown into confusion, while the inclosures and park wall of Preston impeded their retreat. So rapid was this Highland onset, that in five or six minutes the whole brunt of the battle was over.

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Never was a victory more complete. There was scarce any cavalry, indeed, to pursue the dragoons; but not above 170 men of the infantry escaped; all the rest being either killed or taken prisoners. The whole number of slain in the Royal army was nearly four hundred; and of these none was more lamented than Colonel Gardiner. When forsaken by his horsemen in the battle and left almost alone, he saw a party of the foot who were then fighting bravely close by, but who had no officer to head them; "These "brave fellows," said he, "will be cut to pieces for "want of a commander," and riding up, he cheered them on to the charge; but, in a few moments, he was cut down by a Highlander with a scythe, and dispatched with several wounds, close to his own park wall. * Thus died a gallant soldier and a worthy man. In his youth he had been drawn to ardent devotion, by a miracle as he believed it; while awaiting an assignation with a married woman, he saw, or thought he saw, the Saviour on the Cross, surrounded on all sides by a glory, and calling him to repentance — a call which he obeyed ever afterwards by a most exemplary life. †

The insurgents' loss in this conflict was only thirty killed and seventy wounded. The Highlanders wreaked their whole fury on such dragoon horses as they could reach, believing, in their ignorance

* Dr. Doddridge's Remarkable Passages in the Life of Colonel Gardiner, p. 187. Gardiner was carried senseless to the *manse* of Tranent, where he expired a few hours afterwards, and was buried close to his children in his own, the village, church.

† Ib. See a note to Waverley, revised ed. vol. i. p. 72.

of cavalry, that these animals were trained to bite and tear in battle. But as to their vanquished enemies, Charles, who had been scarcely fifty paces behind the vanguard, immediately exerted himself, and, in a little while with success, to command and enforce mercy. In fact, his moderation in his victory, whether proceeding from temper or from policy, has been universally acknowledged.* He remained on the field till midday, giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both armies, without any distinction of friend or foe. It is recorded, also, that one of his officers coming up to congratulate him, and saying, "Sir, there are your enemies "at your feet;" the Prince, far from exulting, expressed only his compassion for what he termed his father's deluded subjects.†

No sooner was the victory decided, than most of the victors disbanded for plunder. The standards and other trophies, and the military chest, containing about 2,500*l.*, were brought to the Prince, but all other spoils were reserved by the captors for themselves. Unaccustomed to luxuries, the rude mountaineers looked half in scorn and half in wonder on the refinements of civilised life. A quantity of chocolate taken was afterwards cried in the streets of Perth under the name of "Johnnie Cope's salve!" One man, who had got a watch, very soon sold it for a trifle, ob-

* Home's History, p. 122.

† MS. Memoirs of James Maxwell of Kirkconnell. See a note to Waverley, revised ed. vol. ii. p. 273.

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serving, with great glee, that "he was glad to be "rid of the creature, for she lived no time after he "caught her" — the machinery having in fact stopped for want of winding up! Another man exchanged a horse for a horse-pistol! Uncouth old Highlanders were seen strutting about in the officers' fine clothes; others appeared hurrying away with a large military saddle upon their backs; and a great number immediately set off without leave or notice to their mountains on purpose to secure their spoil.*

Of the dragoons who had fled from the field of battle a small party made their way to Edinburgh, where they rode up the High Street at full gallop, and with prodigious confusion and uproar. They continued their race up the hill to the Castle as their surest place of refuge; but the Governor, so far from admitting them, sent them word to begone, or he would open his guns upon them as cowards who had deserted their colours. Scared at this new peril, they turned their horses, and pursued their flight towards the west. But the greater number having being collected, though not rallied, by Sir John Cope and the Earls of Loudon and Home, were seized with a fresh panic the same morning, and in spite of every exertion of their chiefs, went off again at full speed towards Coldstream. Even at Coldstream they did not feel secure, but after a night's rest sought shelter behind the ramparts of Berwick. There they arrived in the most disgraceful disorder; and Sir John was received by his brother

* Chambers' Hist. vol. i. p. 196.

officer Lord Mark Kerr with the sarcastic compliment, that he believed he was the first general on record who had carried the tidings of his own defeat!

This battle, called of Preston, or sometimes of Preston Pans, by the well affected party, received the name of Gladsmuir from the insurgents, out of respect, as it would seem, to certain ancient predictions. "On Gladsmuir shall the battle be," — says a Book of Prophecies printed at Edinburgh in 1615; but Gladsmuir — a large open heath — lies a full mile to the east of the actual scene of conflict.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

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At the news of the growing insurrection, King George had set out from Hanover, and on the 31st of August arrived in London. He found that the Regency in his absence had not neglected any measure of precaution; even on the mere apprehension of the troubles a warrant (though as we have seen, in vain) was issued against the Duke of Perth; and with better success were Sir Hector Maclean and two or three others brought prisoners to England.* A requisition had been sent to the Dutch for the 6000 auxiliaries they were bound to furnish; a resolution taken to recall some of the English regiments from Flanders. Marshal Wade had likewise been directed to collect as many troops as he could at Newcastle, and the militia of several counties was called out. But the spirit of the people in no degree responded to the efforts of the government; they remained cold lookers on, not indeed apparently favouring the rebellion, but as little disposed to strive against it. A member of the administration, and a man of no desponding

* Tindal's Hist. vol. ix. p. 171.

temper, Henry Fox, in his confidential letters at this period, admits and deplores the passive state of public feeling: "England, Wade says, and I "believe, is for the first comer; and if you can tell "whether the 6000 Dutch, and the ten battalions of "English, or 5000 French or Spaniards will be "here first, you know our fate.* . . . . The "French are not come, God be thanked! But "had 5000 landed in any part of this island a "week ago, I verily believe the entire conquest "would not have cost them a battle."†

On the King's return moreover the factions of the Court aggravated the difficulties of the country. His Majesty's whole confidence was centered on the fallen minister Granville, who awaited only some favourable opening to drive the Pelhams from power, and who, from rivalry to them, continued till the battle of Preston to make light of the rebellion. According to Horace Walpole, "Lord "Granville and his faction persist in persuading "the King, that it is an affair of no consequence— "and for the Duke of Newcastle, he is glad when "the rebels make any progress, in order to confute "Lord Granville's assertions!"‡—It was amidst

* To Sir C. H. Williams, Sept. 5, 1745.

† To the same, Sept. 19, 1745. Coxe's Lord Walpole of Wolterton.

§ To Sir H. Mann, September 20, 1745. He adds seven days later, after the battle, "Lord Granville still buoys up the King's "spirits. . . . . His Majesty uses his ministers as ill as possible, "and discourages every body that would risk their lives and "fortunes with him."

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such feuds and jealousies that the ministry had to make their preparations for retrieving the lost battle, and for meeting the Parliament which was summoned for the 17th of October.

On departing from France without permission from its Government, Charles had left a letter of apology and solicitation for the King, which was delivered after he had sailed, and was seconded by the warm entreaties of his friend the Duke de Bouillon.* Still more effectual were the tidings of his first successes. Louis became well disposed, both in self-interest and generosity, to aid him, and continued to dispatch several small supplies of arms and money, some of which were intercepted by the English cruizers, while others safely reached their destination. But another far more important diversion in his favour was meditated by the Court of France. His young brother, Henry of York, having arrived from Rome, it was designed to put him at the head of the Irish regiments in the French service, and of several others, and enable him to effect a landing in England; and already were preparations for that object in active progress in Dunkirk.

Charles, conscious how much his final success would depend upon French succour, had determined to lose no opportunity of pressing it. On his victory at Preston he sent over Mr. Kelly with

* Culloden Papers, p. 206.

letters to the Court of Versailles and to his father, three weeks later Sir James Stewart was dispatched.* Both these emissaries succeeded in safely arriving at Paris; Kelly, however, narrowly escaping arrest from the British consul at Camp Veer in Zealand. But neither of them throve in his negotiations. Cabals were already at work against the intended expedition; some pretext of delay was always invented, some obstacle always interposed. Even the warmest partisan of the Stuarts, Cardinal Tencin, complained to Kelly of the backwardness of the English Jacobites, and insisted as a pledge of their sincerity, that before the armament sailed, Sir John Hinde Cotton should resign his office at Court. In vain did Kelly reply that Cotton could not reasonably be expected to incur that useless risk, since his resignation, at such a crisis, would at once be followed by his arrest and committal to the Tower.† — Thus did the French Government long defer, and finally lose the fairest opportunity it had ever seen since the Revolution of establishing its influence and principles in Britain.

Prince Charles's first wish and design upon his victory was to march immediately towards London, at the head of his little army. On the very next morning he dispatched an agent into Northumber-

* See these letters in the Appendix. I am surprised that Mr. Chambers should have been imposed upon by a clumsy forgery, which he inserts in his History, vol. i. p. 188.

† Secret examination of Murray of Broughton, August 13, 1746, Appendix. These and many other curious particulars were suppressed in his public evidence.

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land, with instructions to stir up the country and prepare the way for his coming.* Had Charles really been able to push onwards with a body of two or three thousand men, there is strong reason to believe, from the state of things I have described in England—the previous apathy—and the recent terror—the want of troops—and the distraction of counsels—that he might have reached the capital with but little opposition, and succeeded in at least a temporary restoration. There was no fortified place upon his way beyond the Tweed, except Newcastle, and even at Newcastle his arms had struck the deepest dismay. We learn from Wesley, who was there at the time, "The walls are mounted "with cannon, and all things prepared for sus- "taining an assault, but our poor neighbours on "either hand are busy in removing their goods; "and most of the best houses in our street are "left without either furniture or inhabitants."† If such was the feeling behind ramparts, what must it have been in open and defenceless towns?

On the other hand, the Prince's Scottish advisers were nearly unanimous against an expedition into England. It was urged, as a reason for at least delaying it, that he might triple or quadruple his army by reinforcements from the Highlands, and obtain the advantage of the French supplies that were be-

* This agent's name was Hickson; he was discovered and arrested at Newcastle. See his instructions in the Appendix, dated Sept. 22, 1745.

† Wesley's Journal, September 23, 1745.

ginning to arrive at Montrose, Dundee, and other points of the eastern coast. But the motive, which more than any other weighed with Charles to forego his resolution, was the number of Highlanders who were already hastening towards their mountains in order to secure their plunder, so that, had he marched on from the field of battle, he could scarcely perhaps have mustered 1,500 men beneath his standard.

Accordingly the young Adventurer, having passed the night of his victory at Pinkie House, returned next evening to fix his residence for some time at Holyrood. On the same day his army marched back into Edinburgh with every token of triumph, displaying the prisoners, the spoils, and the standards they had taken, while the multitude greeted them with repeated acclamations, and the pibrochs struck up the old Cavalier tune, "The "King shall enjoy his own again." Amidst the exulting license of this tumultuous entry, many of the Highlanders fired their pieces into the air, but one of them having been accidentally loaded with ball, it grazed the forehead of Miss Nairn, an enthusiastic Jacobite, who was waving her handkerchief from a neighbouring balcony. She was stunned for some moments, but on coming to herself, her first words were not of concern at the pain, or of resentment at the carelessness: "Thank "God," she exclaimed, as soon as she could speak, "that the accident has happened to me, whose prin-

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"ciples are known. Had it befallen a Whig, they "would have said it was done on purpose!"*

The battle of Preston made the Prince master of all Scotland, except some districts beyond Inverness, the Highland forts, and the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. In almost every town was the Pretender proclaimed as "King James "the Eighth," while the public money was levied for his service. On the city of Glasgow, at once the richest and the least friendly to his cause, an extraordinary payment of 5,000*l.* was imposed. The late public authorities either fled to England or skulked in privacy, while the Jacobites, throwing off the mask, took no pains to dissemble their rapturous joy, and loudly vaunted of their young Prince, who, according to their own phrase at the time, "could eat a dry crust, and sleep on pease-"straw, take his dinner in four minutes, and win "a battle in five!"†

Meanwhile this idol of their affections was exercising at Holyrood all the attributes of sovereignty, and making every exertion to confirm and heighten the popular feeling in his favour. He forbade all public rejoicings for his victory, stating as his reason the loss which his father's misguided subjects had sustained. The Banking Companies having retired into the Castle, to the great public

* Note to Waverley, revised ed., vol. ii. p. 202. Miss Nairn survived so long as to be an acquaintance of Sir Walter Scott in his younger days.

† Caledonian Mercury, ap. Chambers' Hist. vol. i. p. 204.

inconvenience, he invited them to return by a proclamation, assuring them of full protection, but none obeyed the summons. The clergy of Edinburgh were in like manner exhorted in another proclamation to resume their religious duties; with a timidity, however, for which they were afterwards censured by their own party, they persisted in absenting themselves. One only, Mac Vicar by name, the minister of the West Church, appeared as usual in his pulpit, and even continued to pray for King George. Charles was urged to punish this boldness, but wisely refused to disturb him, and Mr. Mac Vicar, perhaps in gratitude for the toleration, added to his prayer on the next occasion: "As for the young man that is come "among us to seek an earthly crown, we beseech "thee in mercy take him to thyself, and give him "a crown of glory!"

Forbearance in such a case was easy, but in that of Edinburgh Castle it involved a heavy sacrifice. Having drawn a close blockade around the fortress, and being informed that the garrison had only a six weeks' stock of provisions, Charles might reasonably hope that this important strong-hold must ere long fall into his hands. General Guest, however, wrote as Governor to the magistrates of Edinburgh, that unless the communication were re-opened he would fire upon the city and lay it in ashes. The affrighted townsmen obtained a day's respite in order to lay the letter before Charles at Holyrood. The Prince's answer was likewise given in writing; he

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declared that he was surprised at the barbarity of an officer who could threaten ruin to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, for not doing what it was out of their power to do; that, if even compassion should make him raise the blockade of the Castle, the Governor might next with equal reason require him to leave the city with his troops, and resign all the advantages of victory; and that, if any wanton mischief were attempted, he would make full reprisal upon the estates of the officers in the Castle, "and even upon all who are known "to be open abettors of the German Govern- "ment."* This answer being transmitted by the citizens, they obtained from the General a suspension of his threatened cannonade until the return of an express, which was sent to London for orders. Meanwhile the Governor expected that nothing should be attempted against his garrison. But this condition not being clearly understood by the common Highlanders, they, a few days afterwards, fired at some people whom they saw carrying provisions up the hill. Upon this General Guest opened his own fire, the streets were swept with cartridge shot, and several of the inhabitants as well as Highlanders were killed. A new and most earnest appeal was now made to Charles's mercy, and he either found it necessary, or felt it desirable, to yield in his second answer. "As we have threatened we might justly proceed

* Charles's answer (Sept. 30, 1745) is printed in the Collection of his State Papers, p. 29.

"to use the powers which God has put in our "hands to chastise those who are instrumental "in the ruin of this capital, by reprisals upon the "estates and fortunes of those who are against "us; but we think it no way derogatory to the "glory of a Prince to suspend punishment, or alter "a resolution, when thereby the lives of innocent "men can be saved. In consequence of this sen- "timent the blockade of the Castle is hereby "taken off."* From this time forward, therefore, supplies were freely allowed to pass into the fortress, its cannonade ceased, but all hopes of its reduction disappeared.

In another transaction of this time, however, the Prince's generosity excited no small discontent among his followers. It had been proposed to send one of the prisoners of Preston to London, in order to demand of that Court a cartel for the exchange of prisoners taken, or to be taken, in the war, and to declare that if this were refused, and if the Prince's friends, falling into the enemy's hands, were put to death as rebels, the Prince would be compelled to treat his captives in the same manner. It was evident that a cartel would be of the utmost advantage to Charles's cause, as his well-wishers would be far more ready to declare for him if they had only to fear the chances of war in the field; and it was argued that a few severe examples would induce the English officers to remonstrate, and the English Government to comply: but to this scheme, how-

* Charles's Proclamation, Oct. 5, 1745.

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ever plausible and however warmly urged, Charles stubbornly refused his assent. "It is below me," he said, "to make empty threats, and I will never "put such as these into execution; I cannot in "cold blood take away lives which I have saved "in the heat of action." *

According to Charles's orders great clemency was shown to the prisoners of Preston. Within a few days the officers were liberated on parole, and permitted to live at large in the town, and scarcely more restraint was imposed upon the common men. But one officer breaking his parole and escaping into the Castle, both officers and privates were sent into temporary custody at, or near, Perth, where, however, it was found both difficult and expensive to confine them. Some few were persuaded to enlist in the Prince's army, and the greater number were released on taking an oath not to serve against the House of Stuart for one twelvemonth; an engagement which is alleged, though not perhaps on adequate authority, to have been broken by many.

The first thought of Charles had been to summon a Scottish Parliament at Edinburgh, but the practical difficulties of that scheme were so great that he relinquished it. He published a proclamation however on the 9th of October, denouncing "the "pretended Parliament of the Elector of Hanover," summoned at Westminster for the 17th, warning the English not to attend, and declaring it high treason

* MS. Memoirs of Maxwell of Kirkconnell; from a copy in possession of Sir Walter Scott.

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for the Scotch. Another longer and more important proclamation issued by Charles on the 10th, was designed as a pledge of his future conduct, and an incentive to popular support. He had observed that the measure most obnoxious on the north of the Tweed was the Act of Union; it was still clamoured against as a fatal blow to the national independence, and no saying was more common among the Jacobites, than that they were bound to restore, not merely the King, but the kingdom, of Scotland.* In his proclamation, therefore, Charles takes care to announce that his father would never ratify this "pretended Union," but "with respect to every "law or act of Parliament since the Revolution, so "far as in a free and legal Parliament they shall be "approved, he will confirm them." He also touches upon the delicate subjects of the public funds and the Protestant religion, and repels the various imputations that had been urged against his cause. "We must further declare the sentiments of our "Royal Father with regard to the national debt. "That it has been contracted under an unlawful "government nobody can disown, no more than "that it is now a most heavy load upon the nation; "yet in regard that it is for the greatest part due "to those very subjects whom he promises to pro-"tect, cherish, and defend, he is resolved to take the "advice of his Parliament concerning it. . . . . "Our present attempt is not undertaken to impose "upon any a religion which they dislike, but to

* See for example the Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 301.

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" secure them all the enjoyment of those which are " respectively at present established among them, " either in England, Scotland, or Ireland. . . . . And " this security for your religion, properties, and " laws, we ratify and confirm in our own name before " Almighty God, upon the faith of a Christian and " the honour of a Prince.

" Let me now expostulate this weighty matter " with you, my father's subjects. . . . . Do not the " pulpits and congregations of the clergy, as well " as your weekly papers, ring with the dreadful " threats of Popery, Slavery, Tyranny, and Arbi- " trary Power, which are now ready to be imposed " upon you by the formidable powers of France " and Spain? Is not my Royal father represented " as a bloodthirsty tyrant, breathing out nothing " but destruction to all those who will not imme- " diately embrace an odious religion? Or have I my- " self been better used? But listen only to the naked " truth. — I with my own money hired a vessel, ill- " provided with money, arms, or friends ; I arrived " in Scotland attended by seven persons ; I publish " the King my father's declaration, and proclaim " his title with pardon in one hand, and in the other " liberty of conscience, and the most solemn pro- " mises to grant whatever a free Parliament shall " propose for the happiness of the people. I have, " I confess, the greatest reason to adore the good- " ness of Almighty God, who has in so remarkable " a manner protected me and my small army " through the many dangers to which we were at

" first exposed, and who has led me in the way to " victory, and to the capital of this ancient kingdom, " amidst the acclamations of the King my father's " subjects. ..... As to the outcries formerly " raised against the Royal Family, whatever mis- " carriages might have given occasion for them, " have been more than atoned for since, and the " nation has now an opportunity of being secured " against the like for the future. That our family " has suffered exile during these fifty-seven years " every body knows. Has the nation during that " period of time been the more happy and flourish- " ing for it? Have you found reason to love and " cherish your governors as the fathers of the " people of Great Britain and Ireland? Has a " family, upon whom a faction unlawfully bestowed " the diadem of a rightful Prince, retained a due " sense of so great a trust and favour? Have you " found more humanity and condescension in those " who were not born to a Crown, than in my Royal " forefathers? Have they, or do they, consider " only the interest of these nations? Have you " reaped any other benefit from them than an im- " mense load of debts? If I am answered in the " affirmative, why has their government been so " often railed at, in all your public assemblies? " Why has the nation been so long crying out for " redress?

" The fears of the nation from the powers of " France and Spain appear still more vain and " groundless. My expedition was undertaken

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"unsupported by either. But indeed when I see "a foreign force brought by my enemies against "me, and when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hes- "sians, and Swiss, the Elector of Hanover's allies, "being called over to protect his government "against the King's subjects, is it not high time "for the King my father to accept also of assist- "ance? Who has the better chance to be in- "dependent of foreign powers — he who with the "aid of his own subjects can wrest the government "out of the hands of an intruder, or he who "cannot, without assistance from abroad, support "his government, though established by all the "civil power, and secured by a strong military "force, against the undisciplined part of those he "has ruled over for so many years? Let him, if "he pleases, try the experiment: let him send off "his foreign hirelings, and put all upon the issue "of a battle, and I will trust only to the King my "father's subjects!"*

This spirited proclamation was not, we may presume, without effect in drawing more recruits to Charles's standard — the great object to which all his measures were directed. Many volunteers joined him from the Lowlands, and new tribes of

* Murray of Broughton, in his secret examination (August 13, 1746), says, that this proclamation was drawn up by Sir Thomas Sheridan and Sir James Stewart. No doubt it may have been corrected as to the language, and must have been as to the spelling, but the style appears to me very much to resemble that of Charles's letters, allowing for the difference between a studied and a hasty composition.

Highlanders poured down from their mountains. Lord Ogilvie, eldest son of the Earl of Airly, brought 600 men, mostly of his own name, from Forfar. Another regiment of 400 from the hills of Aberdeenshire came under Gordon of Glenbucket. In the same country Lord Lewis Gordon, brother of the Duke, declared for Charles, and undertook to raise the vassals of his house. Macpherson of Cluny, having gone from Perth to levy his followers, returned with about 300. Lord Balmerino, a bold, bluff, hard-drinking veteran, of the old Scottish stamp, took up arms again, as he had in 1715. Another still more important accession was gained in Lord Pitsligo, a man also in advanced years, of gentle temper, and peculiar wariness and prudence. "I always observed him," says Dr. King, "ready "to defend any other person who was ill-spoken "of in his company. If the person accused were "of his acquaintance, my Lord Pitsligo would "always find something good to say of him as a "counterpoise. If he were a stranger and quite "unknown to him, my Lord would urge in his "defence the general corruption of manners, and "the frailties and infirmities of human nature!" * From this cautious temper, which he was known to possess, the gentlemen of his neighbourhood in Banffshire deemed him a safe leader, and were the more easily persuaded to join him when he espoused the Stuart cause; they formed with their retainers about 150 cavalry under his command;

* Anecdotes of his own Time, p. 145.

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besides which, he also brought a small body of foot.

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With Sir Alexander Macdonald and Mac Leod the Stuart cause found less favour. Only three days after the battle Charles had dispatched to them a messenger, exhorting them, but in vain, to join his standard.* Lovat likewise, though strongly urged in Charles's letters, continued to waver between his hopes and fears. For some time he brooded over a scheme of collecting a new Highland army at the Corry Arrack, which should affect neutrality, and side at last with the victorious. But finding this impracticable, and afraid of losing all credit with the Pretender's party, he finally adopted the dastardly middle course, of exposing his son's life to protect his own. He privately directed that son, the Master of Lovat, to march towards the Prince at the head of seven or eight hundred of his clan, protesting all the while to his neighbour, the Lord President, that the march was made to his infinite sorrow and against his repeated orders. But his previous hesitation had lasted so long, that the Frasers did not arrive at Perth until after the Prince had entered England. And it may be alleged, with great show of truth, that the defection or delay of these three chiefs, Mac Leod, Macdonald, and Lovat — who could, had they heartily engaged, have brought a further force of 4000 men, — turned the nearly balanced scale

* See his Instructions in Home's Appendix, p. 324.

against the success of the English expedition, and the triumph of the Jacobite cause. CHAP. XXVIII.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks Charles's army, within six weeks after his victory, mustered nearly 6000 men. These were encamped at Duddingstone, and supplied with tents, partly from the requisition upon Edinburgh, and partly from the spoils of Cope. The hardy mountaineers, however, were not easily prevailed upon to sleep otherwise than in the open air, and only yielded at length, as they said, out of respect to the Prince's orders. Charles came daily to visit or review them, and sometimes passed the night in the camp, lying down without taking off his clothes. He formed the cavalry, besides Lord Pitsligo's, into two troops as guards; the first to be commanded by Lord Elcho, the second by the Earl of Kilmarnock. Great pains were taken in like manner to equip and discipline the infantry; their rations being punctually supplied, and their pay fixed at sixpence a day for the common men, and a shilling for those of the front ranks in the Highland regiments. But with every care the camp still presented an irregular and uncouth appearance. A spy, who was sent from England about the middle of October, reports as follows: "They "consist of an odd medley of gray beards and no "beards, — old men fit to drop into the grave, "and young boys whose swords are near equal to "their weight — and I really believe more than "their length. Four or five thousand may be 1745.

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"very good determined men, but the rest are "mean, dirty, villanous-looking rascals, who seem "more anxious about plunder than their Prince, "and would be better pleased with four shillings "than a Crown."* — Yet we may observe that, in spite of such forbidding looks, their acts of outrage or depredation to the country-people were at this time extremely few. It was not uncommon, indeed, for them to stop some respectable portly citizen as he passed along, levelling their muskets at him with savage and threatening gestures; but, on being asked by the trembling townsman what they wanted, they usually answered "a baubee," that is, a halfpenny! Several more serious robberies that had been at first imputed to them were soon clearly traced to some professed thieves — a class abounding the more, since the insurgents had every where opened the public jails, — and who now assumed the Highland dress and the white cockade as a convenient disguise for their misdeeds. Against these mock Highlanders Charles issued a proclamation†, and succeeded in recovering and restoring a part of the stolen property.

* MS. Report quoted in Chambers' Hist. vol. i. p. 214. This spy obtained an audience of the Prince as a pretended partisan, and was asked many questions as to the number of troops and the state of public feeling in England.

† Collection of Declarations, p. 33. It is amusing to find the Jacobite newspaper allege the jails flung open by themselves as a proof of public virtue. "Among the observables of this "time, one is that there is not in the city jail one single prisoner

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Money was scarcely less needful than men to the young Pretender, and this he obtained in three modes; free gifts, forced contributions, and foreign supplies. Several gentlemen, too aged or too timid to take up arms, displayed their zeal for him in purse instead of person; thus, for example, the old Earl of Wemyss sent 500*l.* The public revenues and the King's-land rents were levied throughout the greater part of Scotland, as by a regular and established government, and all arrears of them called in. * Forced loans, also, were imposed upon some places, as Glasgow; and the factors of the estates forfeited in 1715 were commanded to render their accounts, and pay their balances †; all under the threat of military execution, with fire and sword. The goods in the Custom-houses at Leith and other ports having been seized, Charles forthwith converted them into money, by selling them back to the smugglers, from whom they had been taken. Less invidiously was his treasury replenished from a French ship, which anchored at Montrose, with 5000*l.*, on board. Three other ships coming to the same coast brought 1000*l.* more; they also conveyed about five thousand stand of arms, a train of six field-pieces, and several French and Irish officers. With these came over, likewise, M. de Boyer,

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" for crime, debt, or otherwise. The like, perhaps, never could " have been said before! " — Caledonian Mercury, October 2. 1745.

* Proclamation, October 15. 1745.

† Circular letter to the Factors, September 30, 1745.

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called the Marquis d'Eguilles, and brother of the well-known Marquis d'Argens, who was entrusted with a letter of congratulation to Charles from Louis the Fifteenth. This was the principal business of his mission; but the Prince, with excellent policy, insisted on calling him "Monseigneur de Boyer*," and receiving him with studied ceremony, as the accredited ambassador from the King of France to the Prince Regent of Scotland. This belief, together with the promise of a French landing in Charles's favour, tended in no small degree to raise or to sustain the spirits of his partisans.

To carry on these and his other measures with an air of Royalty, Charles had named a council, consisting of the two Lieutenant-Generals, the Duke of Perth, and Lord George Murray; the Quarter-master-General, O'Sullivan; the Colonel of the Horse Guards, Lord Elcho; Secretary Murray, Lords Ogilvie, Nairn, Pitsligo, and Lewis Gordon, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and all the Highland chiefs. This council he appointed to meet him at ten o'clock every morning, in his drawing-room. It was then his custom, first to declare his own opinion, and afterwards to ask that of every other member in their turn. The deliberations were often protracted and discordant, and embittered by rivalry between the Scotch and Irish officers. According to Lord Elcho "there was one third of the council "whose principles were, that Kings and Princes "can never think wrong, so in consequence they

* Caledonian Mercury, October 16. 1745.

"always confirmed whatever the Prince said:" and he moreover alleges, that "His Royal Highness "could not bear to hear any body differ in sen- "timent from him, and took a dislike to every body "that did." * We should not forget that Lord Elcho wrote thus in exile, after a violent quarrel and total estrangement between him and the Prince; yet, on the whole, from his and other testimony, we may clearly conclude, that Charles was too fiery in his temper and too fixed in his opinions.

Before the council, Charles always held a levee; when the council rose, he dined in public with his principal officers, and then rode out with his Life Guards, usually to his camp at Duddingstone. On returning in the evening, he held a drawing-room for the ladies of his party; and not unfrequently closed the day by giving them a ball in the old picture-gallery of Holyrood. His affability and constant wish to please were neither relaxed by his good fortune nor yet clouded by his cares: at table he often combined a compliment to his followers with a sarcasm on his rival, by saying that, after his restoration, Scotland should be his Hanover, and Holyrood House his Herrenhausen.† At his camp he talked familiarly even to the meanest Highlanders.‡ At his balls he was careful to call alternately for Highland and Lowland tunes, so as

* Lord Elcho's MS. Memoirs: a large extract, inserted in the Tales of a Grandfather, vol. iii. p. 54—58.

† Chambers' Hist. vol. i. p. 211.

‡ Report of the spy sent from England, October 1745.

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to avoid showing an invidious preference to either,—to such minute particulars did his anxiety to please descend! The fair sex in general, throughout Scotland, became devoted to his cause;—those who conversed with him, won by his gaiety and gallantry; those in a remoter sphere, dazzled by his romantic enterprise and situation, and moved by the generous compassion of a woman's heart. The heir of Robert the Bruce come to claim his birthright, and animated, as they fondly believed, by a kindred spirit! — the master of a kingdom, yet reigning beneath the cannon of a hostile fortress! — an exile two months before! — a conqueror to-day! — perhaps a monarch, or perhaps again an outcast and fugitive, to-morrow!

Charles, having now collected as large an army as his present means allowed, was eager to employ it in an expedition to England. His Scottish counsellors, on the contrary, argued, that he ought to content himself with the possession of their ancient kingdom; to think only of defending it against the English armies when they marched against him, but to run no hazard in attempts at further conquest.* A strange and thoughtless advice, evidently founded on traditional feelings, rather than on

* See these views vehemently maintained by Chevalier Johnstone; Memoirs, p. 45. 8vo ed.; a work that may be consulted for opinions, though not trusted for facts. He adds, "By "fomenting the natural hatred which the Scots have at all "times manifested against the English, the war would have "become national; and this would have been a most fortunate "circumstance for the Prince."

sober reason! With better judgment the young Prince perceived, that in his circumstances to await attack was to ensure defeat, and that his only hope of retaining Scotland lay in conquering England. It might indeed, with more ground, be objected to his enterprise, that his present force was wholly insufficient for it, and would expose both his cause and his person to imminent peril. Yet still, considering that the English could hardly be incited to an insurrection, nor the French to a descent, without Charles's personal appearance, and that further delay would probably strengthen the established government in a far greater proportion than himself, the course of present danger was undoubtedly the best for final safety and success. At three several councils did Charles accordingly propose to march into England and fight Marshal Wade, whose army, consisting partly of the Dutch auxiliaries and partly of English regiments, was gathered at Newcastle; but as often was his proposal over-ruled. At length he declared, in a very peremptory manner, "I see, Gentlemen, you are "determined to stay in Scotland and defend "your country, but I am not less resolved to try "my fate in England, though I should go alone."

Thus pressed in honour, the chiefs reluctantly yielded; limiting their consent, however, to a march a little way across the Border. It was then urged by Lord George Murray, that since they needs must enter England, it should be on the Cumberland rather than on the Northumberland side:

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for, if Marshal Wade advanced towards Carlisle to give them battle, he must harass his troops by a fatiguing march through a difficult country, and the Highlanders would fight to advantage among hills not unlike their own. If, on the contrary, the Marshal remained inactive, the Prince would be at liberty to move where he pleased, and more time would be afforded for the French to land or the English to rise. This scheme, which seems a great improvement on Charles's first idea, was finally resolved upon: the secret, however, was well kept, it being generally given out and believed that they were to march straight against Wade. To mislead the English as long as possible, the Chevalier adopted another suggestion of Lord George, that the army should proceed in two columns, both to join on a day appointed near Carlisle; the first, with the baggage and incumbrances, to go by the direct road of Moffat, but the second and lighter one, under the Prince in person, to pass by Kelso, as if with the design of pushing on into Northumberland.

At this period, however, the English Government was no longer, as after Preston, unprepared or defenceless: their regiments had arrived from Flanders, their auxiliaries from Holland. Besides Wade's army at Newcastle, which amounted already to near ten thousand men, another under the Duke of Cumberland was forming in the midland counties. The militia had been raised in many districts, and the Duke of Bedford, with

thirteen other noblemen, had undertaken to raise each a new regiment of his own. The House of Commons, moreover, had voted not merely loyal addresses but liberal supplies; and consented to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act. On their part, all the ruling statesmen had begun to open their eyes to the magnitude of the impending danger; and the Chancellor, starting as from a lethargy, remarked, that he had thought lightly of the Highlands, but now saw they made a third of the island in the map. * Every exertion was used to rouse and stimulate the people, not only by a just representation that their religion and liberties were in peril, but also by lower, and, probably, more effectual arts. Thus, for example, the butchers were reminded that the Papists eat no meat in Lent†; and the Highlanders were held forth as brutal savages, from whom the worst excesses might be feared. I have now lying before me a pamphlet, "by a "British Lady." — "Let every mother," says the fair authoress, "consider, if this inundation is not "stopped, her prattling boys, the pledges of her "love and the darlings of her heart, may be torn "from her sight, and slavery, the French galleys, "and the Spanish Inquisition be their portion. "What may be the fate of her girls, whom she

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* Earl of Marchmont's Diary, October 7. 1745.

† The placard was as follows:— "To ALL JOLLY BUTCHERS: "My bold hearts, the Papists eat no meat on Wednesdays, "Fridays, Saturdays, nor during Lent. Your friend, JOHN "STEEL." — H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, October 4. 1745.

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"watches over with so much tender care, I have "already hinted, and think the subject too horrible "to resume—indeed too horrible even but to "mention: what then must be the reality?" *

It may be doubted, however, whether, with all these exertions and exaggerations, much effect was produced upon the great body of the people. The county of York seems to have been the only one where the gentry and yeomen, headed by their Archbishop, made a public and zealous appearance. The fourteen promised regiments all vanished in air, or dwindled to jobs:—"These most disinte-"rested Colonels," writes Horace Walpole, "will "name none but their own relations and depend-"ents for the officers who are to have rank." † Great lukewarmness, to say the least of it, appeared in the ranks of Opposition. Lord Bolingbroke told Marchmont, that he thought this was the time when people should endeavour to keep themselves cool; and that unless there was a third party for the Constitution, there was none worth fighting for! ‡ And at a still later period he says, "I wait with "much resignation to know to what lion's paw we "are to fall." § In like manner, the great Scottish peers of King George's side, from whom much

* Epistle from a British Lady to her Countrywomen, 1745, p. 11. At p. 13. she bids them emulate "the courage of the "women in the reign of Romulus!"

† To Sir H. Mann, November 4. 1745.

‡ Lord Marchmont's Diary, September 24. 1745.

§ Lord Bolingbroke to Marchmont, December 1745. Marchmont Papers, vol. ii. p. 348.

had been expected, promised little and did nothing. Thus, the Duke of Montrose thought it a right opportunity to complain that Argyle had always been preferred before him: — "My grandfather," added he, "lost his estate at the head of a party — "and I will not lose mine at the tail of one!"* But, on the other hand, the faction of the Jacobites in England seemed still more inactive and benumbed, taking no apparent measures to rise in arms, and to counteract the immense superiority of regular troops which their Prince must have to overcome.

Charles, having now matured and fixed his plans, set out from Holyrood on the last day of October, and at six in the evening. That night he slept at Pinkie-house, as after Preston; next day his army, dividing into two columns, began its march. The whole force fell short of six thousand men, of whom about five hundred were cavalry: they were well clothed and equipped, and had horses to carry their baggage, and four days' provisions.† But a march into England was nearly as distasteful to the common Highlanders as to their chiefs, and they began to desert in great numbers on the way. One morning Charles is said to have passed an hour and a half before he could prevail upon any of the men to go forward‡: the weather, too, was so unfavourable, that it would have prevented any

* Lord Marchmont's Diary, October 7. 1745.

† Chambers' Hist. vol. i. p. 249.

‡ Ibid. p. 255.

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1745. Charles's column halted for two days at Kelso, and sent forward orders to Wooler to prepare their quarters; thus alarming Wade for himself, and diverting his attention from Carlisle, the real object of attack. By a sudden march to the westward and down Liddisdale, they entered Cumberland on the evening of the 8th of November. As the clans crossed the Border they drew their swords, and raised a shout in pledge of their future resolution; but Lochiel, in unsheathing his weapon, happened to cut his hand, and the Highlanders, —the same men whom a drawn sword in battle never terrified, — turned pale at the evil omen.* Next day both columns of the army, joining, proceeded together to the investment of Carlisle.

Carlisle, the ancient bulwark of England on this frontier, was overtopped by an old and massy castle, and begirt by a mouldering wall. In the castle there was only one company of invalids as garrison, commanded by Colonel Durand; but the city was held by a considerable body of Cumberland militia; and, however unfit to stand a regular siege, might, perhaps, resist an enemy who had no other cannon than a few four-pounders to bring against it. Accordingly both Colonel Durand and the Mayor took measures for defence, and returned no answer to Prince Charles's summons; the Mayor merely issued a proclamation to the

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 455.

inhabitants, informing them of the important fact as to his own name and birth-place, that he was not Paterson from Scotland, but Pattieson, a true-born Englishman, determined to hold out the town to the last.*

The Prince had already given orders to break ground, when he received intelligence that Marshal Wade was marching from Newcastle to relieve the city. Upon this, relinquishing his operations, he judged it best to advance with the greater part of his forces to Brampton, so as to engage the enemy with the advantage of hilly ground. But at Brampton he ascertained that the news respecting Wade was false; and he then sent back the Duke of Perth with several regiments to resume the siege.

On the 13th, Perth began to raise a battery on the east side of the town, his Grace himself, and Tullibardine, working in the trenches without their coats, in order to encourage the men. At the sight of these works, the valiant Mayor, Englishman though he was, felt his courage ooze away: he hung out a white flag, and requested a capitulation for the town. An express was sent, referring the question to the Prince, who refused to grant any terms unless the castle were included; and the result was that both town and castle surrendered. The conditions imported, that the garrison and militia might retire where they pleased, delivering up their arms and horses, and engaging not to serve against Charles for the space of one twelvemonth. The whole siege cost the High-

* Tales of a Grandfather, vol. iii. p. 79.

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land army only one man killed, and another wounded; yet it added no small lustre to their arms, and terror to their name. On the 17th the Chevalier himself made a triumphal entry into the place. Few, if any, of the inhabitants showed any affection to his cause; but they all acknowledged with gratitude the generous treatment of the Duke of Perth.

As for Marshal Wade, the march to Kelso had succeeded in completely blinding him: he did not move from Newcastle until the day after Carlisle had yielded; but hearing of that event at Hexham, and finding the mountain roads very difficult from a fall of snow, he thought it proper to return whence he came, leaving the insurgents at full liberty to push forward if they pleased.

The advantage which Charles derived from the reduction of Carlisle was balanced by a feud which it produced among his generals. Lord George Murray, envious of the reputation which Perth had won, and of the favour he enjoyed, wrote to the Prince, in no very conciliatory terms, resigning his own commission.* At the same time he secretly set on foot a petition from several other officers, praying the Prince that he would be pleased to dismiss all Roman Catholics from his councils, (this was aimed against the Duke of Perth, and Sir Thomas Sheridan,) and to reinstate Lord George Murray in his command. Charles was disposed to support his own friends, and his own

* See this letter in the Jacobite Memoirs, p. 50. It draws an invidious distinction between Charles and his father.

faith: but Perth, seeing the evil of discord, generously insisted on waiving his pretensions to command; and the insurgents thus continued to enjoy the benefit of Murray's far superior military skill. CHAP. XXVIII. 1745.

The news, moreover, received from Scotland was not favourable. On leaving that country, Charles had appointed Lord Strathallan Commander-in-chief, and directed him to collect as many reinforcements as he could at Perth. Strathallan had so far succeeded, that by the arrival of the Master of Lovat, of the Earl of Cromarty, of Mac Gregor of Glengyle, and of detachments from various other clans, he could muster between two and three thousand men. Lord Lewis Gordon, too, had raised three battalions in Aberdeenshire. But, on the other hand, the friends of Government, under the Earl of Loudon and the Lord President, were gathering in considerable force at Inverness: to the south, the towns of Glasgow, Paisley, and Dumfries had resumed their allegiance, and levied their militia for the House of Hanover; and even at Perth and Dundee the populace had insisted on celebrating King George's birth-day, and a few shots or blows had been exchanged between them and their Jacobite garrisons. The city of Edinburgh had been re-entered by the Crown officers, in solemn procession, on the departure of the Highland army; and two regiments of cavalry had been sent forward by Marshal Wade to their support. On the whole, the tidings proved how frail and

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brief was the tenure of the young Pretender's sway.

1745. Under these circumstances Charles sent the chief of Mac Lauchlan back to Scotland, with orders to Lord Strathallan to march, and join him in England with his whole force, and with the utmost speed: but Strathallan, seizing some of those pretexts that are never wanting for inaction, delayed his movements until a period when they became far less useful and important to his cause.

The course for Charles himself to take was the next question to decide. A council being called, some proposed to remain at Carlisle, and watch events in England; some others expressed a strong inclination to return at once to their native country: but, when it came to Lord George Murray's turn to speak, he said, that though he could not advise his Royal Highness to march far into England, without more encouragement from that country than had yet appeared, yet he was persuaded that, if his Royal Highness resolved to make a trial, his army, though but small, would follow him. Charles immediately said he would venture it, and was sure his friends in Lancashire would join when he came amongst them.* The Marquis d'Eguilles no less confidently declared his immediate expectation of a French landing; and, on these assurances, the whole Council acquiesced.

* Mr. Home's account (p. 143.) is remarkably confirmed, even to the very words, by Lord George's own narrative. — Jacobite Memoirs, p. 49.

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The army began its adventurous expedition on the 30th of November, separated, for the convenience of quarters, in two divisions, which kept generally about half a day's march from each other. The first was commanded by Lord George Murray, and the second by the Prince in person. They left a garrison of two hundred men at Carlisle; thus reducing (as was seen at a review) their force to nearly four thousand five hundred, and showing that above a thousand had deserted and gone home since they set out from Edinburgh. The whole army reunited at Penrith, and halted there one day, in the expectation that Wade was advancing to attack them; but on learning the retreat of that doughty veteran from Hexham, they pursued their progress. Their route lay by Shap, Kendal, and Lancaster, to Preston, where the army again met, and rested on the 27th. There prevailed a superstition among the Highlanders, founded on the defeat of the Duke of Hamilton in the Civil Wars, and on the surrender of Brigadier Mac Intosh in 1715, that Preston was a fatal barrier, beyond which no Scottish army could ever advance. From regard to these feelings, Lord George, on the same evening they arrived, marched forward with their vanguard across the Ribble-bridge; thus breaking, as they believed, the formidable spell that bound them.

During these and the following laborious marches, Charles insisted that the aged and infirm Lord Pitsligo should occupy his carriage. Resolv-

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ing to share the fatigues of his meanest followers, he would not even mount a horse, but walked on foot, at the head of one or other of the clans, clad in the Highland garb, and with his target slung across his shoulder. He seldom stopped for dinner; but, making one hearty meal at night, would throw himself on his couch without undressing, and rise again at four the next morning. Nothing but an iron constitution and a lofty spirit would have borne him day after day through all these toils of a soldier, added to all the cares of a commander. He enforced the strictest discipline among his soldiers; and his Household book, which is still preserved, shows the punctual payment of all his personal expenses.* Yet, in spite of his forbearance, the uncouth mountaineers were in many places viewed with terror and aversion; it is even said, though on no good authority, that some old ladies imagined that they would devour young children.† In other

* It is printed at length in the Jacobite Memoirs, pp. 145—187.

† "One evening, as Cameron of Locheil entered the lodgings "assigned to him, his landlady, an old woman, threw herself "at his feet, and, with uplifted hands and tears in her eyes, sup- "plicated him to take her life, but to spare her two little "children. He asked her if she was in her senses, and told "her to explain herself; when she answered, that every body "said the Highlanders ate children, and made them their common "food. Mr. Cameron having assured her that they would not "injure either her, or her little children, or any person whatever, "she looked at him for some moments with an air of surprise, "and then opened a press, calling out with a loud voice, 'Come "out, children, the gentleman will not eat you!' The children "immediately left the press where she had concealed them, "and threw themselves at his feet."— Chevalier Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 101. 8vo. ed.

places, again, the impression was more favourable. At Preston, Charles was received with three hearty cheers, the first he had heard in England; and a few men consented to join him as recruits. CHAP. XXVIII. 1745.

From Preston the army marched to Wigan, and from Wigan to Manchester. On this road throngs of people appeared, eager to see the Prince pass by, and expressing their good wishes for his success; but when arms were offered them, and they were asked to enlist, they all declined, saying in excuse that they did not understand fighting! The signs of popular favour increased and became more substantial when the Prince arrived at Manchester: there the ringing of bells, and the acclamations of multitudes, marked his entry; an illumination shone forth in the evening; white cockades were cheerfully assumed; and a great number of persons came to kiss his hand, and to offer their services. Next day, during which the troops halted, above 200 men were enrolled and embodied with the others who had joined in England; the whole taking the name of the Manchester Regiment, and commanded by Mr. Francis Townley, a Roman Catholic of a very old family in Lancashire, one of the few volunteers upon the march. Such accessions, however, were far, very far inferior to what the insurgents had expected, or their predecessors had experienced in 1715. At that period Lancashire was nearly all devoted to the Stuart cause; but it is evident that the lapse of thirty years had quenched the flame of Jacobitism

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amongst the common people, and that even in the minds of the gentry it burned only with a dim and wavering light.

The disappointment of the Highland chiefs was aggravated by the news they now received of the formidable numbers and movements of their enemy. From behind, Marshal Wade had begun to advance against them through Yorkshire. In front lay the Duke of Cumberland, with his head quarters at Lichfield, and with a force of scarcely less than 8000 soldiers. A third army, for the immediate protection of London, was forming at Finchley, composed of the Royal Guards, and of other but newly raised troops, which the King declared that, in case of need, he would command in person. To prevent a French invasion, or even French supplies, Admiral Vernon had been appointed to cruise in the channel; and Admiral Byng with a smaller squadron blockaded the east coast of Scotland. Large bodies of militia had been raised in several districts; and, close to the rebels, the city of Chester had been secured by the Earl of Cholmondeley, and the town of Liverpool by the zeal of its own inhabitants.* As if these discouragements were not sufficient of themselves, it was also learnt that the bridges over the Mersey, and some others in front, had been broken down by order of the Duke of Cumberland. Charles, with an undaunted spirit, was still for moving onwards, saying he was certain of more support as he advanced. His principal

* Tindal's History, vol. ix. p. 204.

officers, however, remonstrated with Lord George Murray on their alarming situation, when Lord George advised them to offer no further opposition to the will of his Royal Highness until they came to Derby, hoping that by that time they might be joined by the English Jacobites in considerable numbers; but promising that, if not, he would undertake, as General, to propose and enforce a retreat. CHAP. XXVIII. 1745.

Before leaving Manchester, the Prince gave orders for repairing a small bridge near the town, and issued a proclamation on the subject, with a sneer at Marshal Wade.* Resuming his march on the 1st of December, Charles, at the head of one division, forded the Mersey near Stockport, with the water up to his middle; the other division, with the baggage and artillery, passed lower down at Cheadle, on a kind of rough bridge, made by choking up the channel with the trunks of poplar trees. Both divisions joined that evening at Macclesfield. It is said (the tale is traditional, and I heard it in conversation from the late Lord Keith) that, on the opposite bank of the Mersey, Charles found a few of the Cheshire gentry drawn up ready to welcome him, and amongst them Mrs. Skyring, a lady in extreme old age. As a child, she had been lifted up in her mother's arms to view the happy landing at Dover of Charles the Second. Her father, an old cavalier, had afterwards to undergo not merely neglect, but oppression, from that

* Proclamation, November 30. 1745. See Appendix.

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thankless monarch; still, however, he and his wife continued devoted to the Royal cause, and their daughter grew up as devoted as they. After the expulsion of the Stuarts, all her thoughts, her hopes, her prayers, were directed to another Restoration. Ever afterwards she had with rigid punctuality laid aside one half of her yearly income to remit for the exiled family abroad; concealing only, what she said was of no importance to them, the name of the giver: she had now parted with her jewels, her plate, and every little article of value she possessed; the price of which, in a purse, she laid at the feet of Prince Charles, while, straining her dim eyes to gaze on his features, and pressing his hand to her shrivelled lips, she exclaimed, with affectionate rapture, in the words of Simeon, "Lord! now lettest "thou thy servant depart in peace!" It is added that she did not survive the shock when, a few days afterwards, she was told of the retreat. Such, even when misdirected in its object, or exaggerated in its force, was the old spirit of loyalty in England! Such were the characters which history is proud to record, and fiction loves to imitate, — that Major Coleby, who, devoting family and fortune to the Royal cause, joined Charles the Second on his march to Worcester with his four sons and one hundred and fifty men; — that Lady Alice, who, when the same monarch, after his defeat, was tracked by his pursuers to her house, sent forth her son and her servants to make good, at the cost of their lives, one hour's respite for his Majesty's escape; and who,

when she saw her child brought home a prisoner, and mortally wounded, could yet read in his expiring glance the safety of their rescued King! How greatly have we now improved upon those unphilosophical times! How far more judicious to value Kings and governments, like other articles, only according to their cheapness or convenience! How much safer always to acknowledge the reigning sovereign as the rightful one! With what scorn must a modern Doctrinaire look down upon an ancient Cavalier — one of those sage Deputies, for example, who, in July 1830, lurked in garrets and cellars while the brave populace was fighting, and who emerged when all was over, equally ready to depose the tyrant, or to hang the rebels, according as victory might have declared!—Noble minded men, who fling their allegiance to the winds, to be wafted to and fro by any gust of fortune, and who never know to-day what principles they shall maintain to-morrow!

Notwithstanding, however, the respect which fidelity to misfortune claims, we must acknowledge that, in 1745, our countrymen would have done well and wisely to prefer a Protestant, a tolerant, an enlightened, and enlightening Government, to the dreams, however bright, of the olden time. But in that year the most common feeling throughout England was indifference. As Charles advanced from Manchester, he found the people very little inclined to favour or assist him, and displaying no sympathy or fellow feeling with the "wild

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"petticoat men," as they called the kilted Highlanders. On the other hand, they showed an equal unconcern to the interests of the Reigning Family; and looked coolly on the struggle, as they might upon a game, forgetting that they themselves formed the stake of the players. The poet Gray writes from Cambridge, "Here we had "no more sense of danger than if it were the "battle of Cannæ. I heard three sensible middle-"aged men, when the Scotch were said to be at "Stamford, and actually were at Derby, talking of "hiring a chaise to go to Caxton (a place on the "high-road) to see the Pretender and Highlanders "as they passed."*

From Macclesfield, Lord George Murray, by a dexterous manœuvre, succeeded in completely misleading his enemy. He advanced with his column of the army to Congleton, where he dislodged and drove before him the Duke of Kingston and a small party of English horse, pursuing them with his vanguard some way on the road to Newcastle. Thus he impressed the Duke of Cumberland with a full belief that the insurgent troops were on their march in that direction, either to give him battle, or to join their partisans in Wales. Accordingly the Duke hastily pushed forward with his main body to Stone, ready either to intercept or to fight them, as circumstances might require. But Lord George, having meanwhile obtained accurate intel-

* Gray to H. Walpole, February 3. 1746. (Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 383.)

ligence of the Duke's numbers and position from Mr. Weir, one of Cumberland's principal spies, whom he captured at Congleton, and whom the prince saved from hanging*, suddenly turned off to the left, and, by a forced march, gained Ashbourne. There the Prince's column likewise arrived along the direct road. Pursuing their progress next day, they both entered Derby, Lord George in the afternoon, and Prince Charles in the evening of the 4th of December; having thus skilfully gained two or three marches upon the Duke of Cumberland, and interposed between his army and London.

Charles took up his quarters at the Earl of Exeter's, one of the best houses in the town. He arrived in high spirits, reflecting that he was now within a hundred and thirty miles of the capital †, and that neither Wade's nor Cumberland's forces any longer lay before that object of his hopes. Accordingly, that evening, at supper, he studiously directed his conversation to his intended progress and expected triumph, — whether it would be best for him to enter London on foot or on horseback,

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 458.

† There seems to be a sort of tradition or rooted belief among the Scots, that the Prince, at Derby, was within 100 miles of London. Sir Walter Scott repeatedly calls the distance 90 miles (as in Tales of a Grandfather, vol. iii. p. 101.), and Mr. Chambers makes it exactly 100. (Hist. vol. i. p. 274.) Yet it is, I believe, as certain, as any fact in geography can be, that the actual distance is 127. So much easier is it to repeat than to inquire!

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in Highland or in English dress. Far different were the thoughts of his followers. Early next morning he was waited upon by Lord George Murray, with all the commanders of battalions and squadrons; and, a council being formed, they laid before him their earnest and unanimous opinion for an immediate retreat to Scotland. They had marched thus far, they said, on the promise either of an English rising or a French descent; neither had yet occurred, neither could any longer be safely awaited. They asked if the Prince could produce even a single letter from any Englishman of distinction or of influence, received upon their march, and advising them to persevere in it. What was their own force? barely 5000 fighting men, a number insufficient to give battle to any one of the three armies by which they were surrounded; nay scarcely adequate even to take quiet possession of London, were there no camp at Finchley to protect it. What was their enemy's force? perhaps not much less than 30,000 men, were it all combined. If even they should elude the Duke of Cumberland's division, and gain a battle against George the Second, under the walls of London, it would not be gained without loss; and how, with still further diminished numbers, could they gather any fruits of victory? But supposing a defeat, would a single man of their army be able under such circumstances to escape? Would not the Prince's own person, even if he were not killed in the action, fall into the hands of his blood-thirsty

enemies? Or how, if Wade's and Cumberland's armies should combine and close in upon them from the rear? How much wiser, then, to retreat while it was yet time, to support and be supported by their friends in Scotland! Already, continued Lord George (and here he pointed to despatches which had reached the Prince that very morning), we learn that Lord John Drummond has landed at Montrose, with the regiment of Royal Scots and some piquets of the Irish Brigade, so that the whole force under Lord Strathallan ready to join us from Perth is not less than three or four thousand men.*

Charles listened to these arguments with impatience, and replied to them with warmth. He expressed his firm reliance on the justice of his cause, and on the Providence which had hitherto so signally protected him. He owned that there was some danger in advancing, but to retire was equally dangerous, and, besides, disgraceful. As to his personal risk, he would never allow that to weigh with him. "Rather than go back," he cried, "I "would wish to be twenty feet under ground!" † He proceeded at some length to argue on the probability that the French would yet land in Kent or Essex,—that his friends could not fail to join him as

* See Lord George Murray's own summary of his advice in this council. (Jacobite Memoirs, p. 54.)

† Memoirs of Captain Daniel, a volunteer who joined in Lancashire, and attached himself to the Duke of Perth. His MS. has been very obligingly communicated to me by Lady Willoughby d'Eresby.

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he advanced, — that defections must be expected, even from the English ranks, — that boldness and enterprise would supply the want of numbers, and distract the councils of the enemy. Finding that his arguments made no impression, he resorted to entreaties, imploring his friends not to forsake their Prince at his utmost need; and at last, as a middle course, he proposed that they should march into Wales, to give their partisans in that country an opportunity of joining. But the council still continued firm in pressing a retreat to Scotland. Only the Duke of Perth, though retaining his own opinion, was moved by his master's vehemence, and wished to yield to it. Some of the Irish officers were also willing to go on; but then, as the Scots invidiously observed, they did not run equal risk, since, being in the French service, they were sure, at the worst, of being honourably treated as prisoners of war, instead of being tried and hanged as traitors. After several hours of stormy debate, Charles broke up the council without having formed any decision, the army halting that day for rest at Derby. Meanwhile the lower officers and soldiers, animated with very different wishes from their chiefs, and eager for the expected conflict, were employed, some in taking the Sacrament at the different churches *, others thronging the cutlers' shops to renew the edge of their broad-swords.†

During the whole day, the Prince continued to

* Lord George Murray's Narrative. (JacobiteMemoirs, p.76.)
† Chambers' Hist. vol. i. p. 272.

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expostulate with some of his officers singly, in hopes of changing their opinion. Finding them inflexible, he was at length strongly advised by those he most confided in — Sir Thomas Sheridan and Secretary Murray — to yield to the prevailing sentiment, since they were sure the army would never fight well when all the chiefs were against it. Accordingly, at another council, summoned the same evening, Charles sullenly declared his consent to a retreat; but added that, in future, he would call no more councils, since he was accountable to nobody for his actions, excepting to God and his father, and would therefore no longer either ask or accept their advice.

Next day, the 6th of December, the insurgents began their retreat. As they marched in the gray of the morning, the inferior officers and common men believed that they were going forward to fight the Duke of Cumberland, at which they displayed the utmost joy. But when the daybreak allowed them to discern the surrounding objects, and to discover that they were retracing their steps, nothing was to be heard throughout the army but expressions of rage and indignation. "If we had been beaten," says one of their officers, "the grief could not have been greater."*

Thus ended the renowned advance to Derby — ended against the wishes both of the Prince and of the soldiers. It certainly appears to me, on the best judgment I can form, that they were right in

* Chevalier Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 73. 8vo. ed.

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their reluctance, and that, had they pursued their progress, they would, in all probability, have succeeded in their object. A loyal writer, who was in London at the time, declares that "when the Highlanders, by a most incredible march, got between the Duke's army and the metropolis, they struck a terror into it, scarce to be credited."* An immediate rush was made upon the Bank of England, which it is said only escaped bankruptcy by paying in sixpences, to gain time. The shops in general were shut, public business for the most part was suspended, and the restoration of the Stuarts, desired by some, but disliked by many more, was yet expected by all as no improbable or distant occurrence. The Duke of Newcastle, at his scanty wits' soon-reached end, stood trembling and amazed, and knew not what course to advise or to pursue; it has even been alleged (a rumour well agreeing with his usual character, but recorded on no good authority†) that he shut himself up for one whole day in his apartments, considering whether he had not better declare betimes for the Pretender. Nay, I find it asserted that King George himself ordered some of his most precious effects to be embarked on board his yachts, and these to remain at the Tower quay, ready to sail at a moment's warning. Certain it is, that this day of universal consternation — the day on which the rebels' approach to Derby was made known — was long remembered

* Fielding, in the True Patriot.

† Chevalier Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 77. 8vo. ed.

under the name of BLACK FRIDAY.* Had, then, the Highlanders continued to push forward, must not the increasing terror have palsied all power of resistance? Would not the little army at Finchley, with so convenient a place for dispersing as the capital behind it, have melted away at their approach? Or, had they engaged the Duke's army, who can doubt the issue, if the victory of Falkirk had been gained on English ground? It is probable also, from the prevalence of Jacobite principles amongst the gentry at this period, that many officers in the Royal army were deeply tainted with them, and might have avowed them at the decisive moment. It is certain, at least, that many would have been suspected, and that the mere suspicion would have produced nearly the same effects as the reality — bewilderment, distrust, and vacillation in the chiefs. Even the high personal valour of the King and of

* See a note to H. Walpole's letters to Mann, vol. ii. p. 98. The day was the 6th of December. I may observe that the Jacobite party was very strong in London, and had at its head one of the City members, Alderman Heathcote, as appears from the Stuart Papers. Thus, a secret letter, transmitted to Rome by Lord Sempill, and dated London, October 21. 1745, says, "Alderman Heathcote and several more have been with Sir "Watkin Wynn to assure him that they will rise in the City of "London immediately upon a landing; and to beg that arms "and ammunition be brought with the troops." And Lord Sempill adds (November 13. 1745) "Mr. Heathcote has been "reckoned, especially since the base defection of Pulteney, one "chief leader of the patriot Whigs, not in the City of London "only, but in the nation. He opened himself, above two months "ago, to Sir John Hinde Cotton."

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the Duke could hardly have borne them safe amidst these growing doubts and dangers.

It appears, moreover, that the coasts of Kent and Essex were but feebly guarded by the British cruisers, and that the French ministers were now in the very crisis of decision as to their projected expedition. The preparations for it were completed at Dunkirk; and had Charles, by any forward movement, seemed to show that he scarcely needed it, it would undoubtedly (such policy is but too common with allies!) have been ordered to sail. Nor were the Jacobites in England altogether as supine as was supposed; they had already, it seems, taken measures for a rising. A letter of the young Pretender, many months afterwards, mentions incidentally, in referring to Mr. Barry, that he "arrived at "Derby two days after I parted. He had been "sent by Sir Watkin Wynn and Lord Barrymore "to assure me, in the name of my friends, that they "were ready to join me in what manner I pleased, "either in the capital, or every one to rise in his "own country." *

I believe, then, that had Charles marched onward from Derby he would have gained the British throne; but I am far from thinking that he would long have held it. Bred up in arbitrary principles, and professing the Romanist religion, he might soon have been tempted to assail — at the very least he would have alarmed — a people jealous of their

* Prince Charles to his father; Avignon, February 12. 1747. (Stuart Papers.)

freedom, and a Church tenacious of her rights. His own violent though generous temper, and his deficiency in liberal knowledge, would have widened the breach; some rivalries between his Court and his father's might probably have rent his own party asunder; and the honours and rewards well earned by his faithful followers might have nevertheless disgusted the rest of the nation. In short, the English would have been led to expect a much better government than King George's, and they would have had a much worse. Their new yoke could neither have been borne without suffering nor yet cast off without convulsion; and it therefore deserves to be esteemed among the most signal mercies of Providence, that this long train of dissensions and disasters, this necessity for a new revolution, should have been happily averted by the determination to retreat at Derby.

The Highland army pursued their retreat by the same track as they had come, but by no means with the same order. Disappointed and humbled in their own estimation, and with their bonds of discipline relaxed, they committed numerous acts of outrage, some in vengeance, others for plunder. Thus at a place near Stockport, the inhabitants having shot at a Highland patrole, his comrades in retaliation set fire to the village. The consequence was, that their stragglers or the sick whom they left behind, were either killed or taken prisoners by the country people. At Manchester, so friendly a few days before, a violent mob opposed their van-

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guard, and, though dispersed, again hung upon their rear when they marched away. The Prince much offended at this unexpected reception, imposed and exacted a fine of 5000*l.* upon the town. His own behaviour on the retreat tended still further to dishearten his men; he took no pains to conceal his grief and resentment, but, on the contrary, affected to show that he was no longer commander of the army. Instead of being, as formerly, earliest in the morning, and foremost in the march, he now lingered at his quarters till eight or nine o'clock, so as to delay the rear-guard, and then, mounting his horse, dejectedly rode on to his column.

Charles had designed to halt his army a day at Manchester, but was dissuaded by Lord George Murray, who argued that the men had no occasion for it, and that it was only giving so much time for the enemy to overtake them. Next morning, accordingly, they pursued their rapid retreat. As they were going out of the town of Wigan, some zealot formed a plan for the Prince's assassination; but, mistaking his person, shot at Mr. O'Sullivan. "Search was made for him," says one of their officers, "but in vain: and no great matter for "any thing he would have suffered from us; for "many exercised their malice merely on account "of the known clemency of the Prince, which, "however, they would not have dared to do if he "had permitted a little more severity in punishing "them. The army, irritated by such frequent "instances of the enemy's malice, began to behave

"with less forbearance, and now few there were "who would go on foot if they could ride; and "mighty taking, stealing, and pressing of horses "there was amongst us! Diverting it was to "see the Highlanders mounted, without either "breeches, saddle, or any thing else but the bare "back of the horses to ride on — and for their "bridle only a straw-rope! In this manner did "we march out of England."*

On learning that the rebels were at Derby, the Duke of Cumberland had fallen back from Stone in all haste for the protection of the capital; and he was already at Meriden Moor, close to Coventry, when he was assured of their retreat. He immediately commenced a pursuit at the head of his cavalry, and of a thousand foot, whom he mounted upon horses supplied by the neighbouring gentry. But with all his despatch he found, on coming to Macclesfield, that the enemy were full two days' march ahead of him. Continuing, however, to press forward, he was joined at Preston by another body of horse, detached and sent across the country from the army of Marshal Wade; but it was not until the county of Westmoreland that he came up with the insurgents. On the evening of the 17th their main body, headed by Charles, had

* MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel. He also bitterly complains of the Prince's clemency on another previous occasion — the barbarous murder of a young English volunteer, by a woman and her son, near Manchester: they were seized and brought to Charles, and they confessed their crime; but he would not allow them to be put to death.

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entered Penrith; but the rear guard, under the command of Lord George Murray, having been delayed by the breaking down of some baggage waggons, could proceed no further than Shap. Early next morning Lord George resumed his march; but on coming to the village of Clifton, about three miles from Penrith, he found several parties of cavalry, volunteers of that neighbourhood, drawn up to intercept him. These, however, he dispersed with one charge of Glengarry's men, and made several prisoners; among the rest, a footman of the Duke of Cumberland, who said that his Royal Highness was already close in the rear with 4000 horse. Lord George sent the man to be examined by the Prince, at Penrith; at the same time requesting orders for his own direction. Charles, with great courtesy, dismissed the servant to his master; and, for the support of Lord George, despatched two regiments — the Stuarts of Appin, and the Macphersons of Cluny.

The sun was just setting when the Duke's advancing forces first appeared in sight of Lord George; and they slowly formed upon Clifton Moor and the high road; on one side the stone fences of the village, on the other the enclosures of Lord Lonsdale's princely domain. It was now nearly dark; but the moon shone out at intervals from among the clouds, and by this light Lord George saw a body of men — dismounted dragoons, or rather infantry, who had resumed their proper mode of warfare — gliding forward to surprise him along the stone fences. He immediately cried CLAY-

more! and rushed on, sword in hand, followed by the Macphersons and Stuarts; and, losing his bonnet in the fray, continued to fight bareheaded among the foremost. In a few minutes the English were completely repulsed, their commander, Colonel Honeywood, being left severely wounded on the field, and their total number of killed or disabled exceeding a hundred men, while the insurgents lost but twelve. It was with great difficulty that the Highlanders could be recalled from the pursuit, they exclaiming that it was a shame to see so many of the King's enemies standing fast upon the moor without attacking them. Lord George also was desirous of maintaining his position with further reinforcements; but receiving the Prince's repeated orders to the contrary, drew off his men to Penrith. So effectual, however, was the check he had given, that the Duke of Cumberland forbore any further attempts to harass the Highlanders in their retreat.

Pursuing this retreat, Charles and his troops arrived early next day, the 19th, at Carlisle. Here they thought it requisite to leave a garrison, so as to secure this key of England for them in a second, and, as they hoped, a speedy invasion of that country; yet the same object might have been attained by blowing up the works. Besides a few French and Irish, and some men from a Lowland regiment, who consented to remain, we learn from an officer present, that "Mr. Townley, Colonel of the English, "petitioned the Prince, not only in his own name, "but in the name of all the officers of the Man-

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"chester regiment, to be left, though the latter "never assented to or desired it, many of them "wishing to undergo the same fate as their Royal "master. However, on Colonel Townley's coming "back, and telling them that it was the Prince's "pleasure that they should remain at Carlisle, "they all, taking it as coming from the Prince, "most willingly acquiesced."* Yet the result was most fatal to them, and the determination to leave them most unwise. No sooner had Charles departed than they were invested by the Duke of Cumberland. They supposed (and this seems to have been Charles's own opinion, when he left them,) that the Duke had no battering artillery at his disposal: some, however, was unexpectedly brought from Whitehaven; and on the 29th it began to play upon the mouldering walls. The besieged then desired to capitulate, but could obtain no other terms from his Royal Highness, than that "they should not be put to the sword, but reserved "for his Majesty's pleasure"—a stipulation which to many of them was only death deferred.

On the 20th of December, the Prince's birth-day, the Scottish army left Carlisle, and re-entered their own country by fording the Esk. That river was swollen with winter floods and rains to the depth of four feet; yet nearly all the men crossed

* MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel. It is scarcely worth while to notice a calumnious and absurd insinuation of the Chevalier Johnstone, that Charles left this unfortunate garrison behind, "in a spirit of vengeance against the English nation," for not more effectually supporting him!

safely, wading arm in arm, and supporting each other against the violence of the current. Charles, with his horsemen, rode through a little below the place where the rest of his army passed; and, while in the midst of the water, saw one or two of the men, who had drifted from the hold of their comrades, and were carried down the stream. With great intrepidity and presence of mind, Charles sprung forward, and caught one poor soldier by the hair, at the same time calling out, in Gaelic, COBHEAR! COBHEAR! that is, Help! help! and supporting him until he could receive assistance. This proof of his compassion and care for his followers greatly tended, it is said, to enhance his popularity amongst them. CHAP. XXVIII. 1745.

The main body of the insurgents stopped that night at Annan, and the next at Dumfries. This town had always been remarkable for its attachment to the Protestant succession; and a report having lately reached it of some defeat or disaster to the Highland army, a general rejoicing had ensued. When the Highlanders marched in, they found the candles of the illumination still in the windows, and the bonfires unextinguished.* They imposed a fine of 2000*l.* upon the place; and, receiving only 1100*l.*, carried off the Provost and another magistrate as security for the remainder. From hence they proceeded by different routes to Glasgow, marking their track by numerous acts of plunder and depredation. Charles himself went by way of Hamilton Palace, where he allowed his

* MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel.

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troops a day of rest, and himself a day of shooting in the Park. His forces were now reduced to about 3600 foot and 500 horse. On the 26th he entered Glasgow, thus completing one of the most extraordinary marches recorded in history. From Edinburgh to Derby, and from Derby back again to Glasgow, they had gone not less than 580 miles in fifty-six days *, many of these days of halt; yet one of Charles's personal attendants complains, that, during this whole time, he was able but once, at Manchester, to throw off his clothes at night. †

Glasgow had already given strong proofs of its hostility to Charles, having raised many hundred men against him in his absence. His appearance made no impression in his favour; nay, one fanatic even snapped a pistol at him, as he rode along the Salt-market. ‡ A most heavy requisition to refit the Highland army was now laid upon the citizens; for which they afterwards claimed and received a compensation from the established Government. How strange the contrast between Manchester and Glasgow! The most commercial town in England the most friendly—the most commercial town in Scotland the most adverse—to the Stuarts!

* Reckoning the distance from Carlisle to Derby, through Wigan, 181 miles (twice over); from Edinburgh to Carlisle and Brampton, through Kelso, perhaps 110; from Carlisle to Glasgow about the same, — the total will be 582. But this is only an approximation.

† See some notes of conversation with Mr. Gib, the Prince's *Major Domo*, in the Jacobite Memoirs, p. 194.

‡ Chambers' History, vol. i. p. 295. It appears that, as usual, no punishment followed.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

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HAVING refreshed and new clothed his army, by eight days' residence at Glasgow, Charles again set forth, on the 3rd of January 1746, and marched to Stirling, where, according to orders he had sent, he was joined by the forces under Lords John Drummond and Strathallan. There came also the detachment of Lord Lewis Gordon, which only a few days before had worsted the Earl of Loudon's levies in a skirmish at Inverury, and driven them back towards Inverness. By these accessions, the total force under Charles's banner was augmented to nearly nine thousand men, being the largest that he ever mustered in the course of these campaigns. With this he now undertook the siege of the Castle of Stirling; the more readily, since Lord John Drummond had brought both battering guns and engineers from France, and since he was eager to secure a constant and easy communication between the Highlands and the Lowlands.

Stirling Castle, however, stood secure in its craggy height, a good garrison, and an experienced governor, General Blakeney. By this time, also,

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the army of Marshal Wade had advanced into Scotland, and was reinforced by the Duke of Cumberland's cavalry. The Duke himself had been recalled from Carlisle, and his infantry from Lichfield, to guard the southern coast, and provide against the still apprehended French invasion. But though absent himself, he was requested to name the commander of the army in Scotland in the room of Marshal Wade, whose talents, never of the brightest, had sunk beneath the torpor of age, and whose inactivity had justly been complained of during the last campaign. In his place, the Royal Duke recommended General Henry Hawley, an officer of some experience, who had served in the battle of Sheriffmuir as a Major of dragoons; but destitute of capacity, and hated, not merely by his enemies, but by his own soldiers, for a most violent and vindictive temper. Both he and his Royal patron were signal exceptions to the rule, that brave men are never cruel. — Once, in Flanders, a deserter being hanged before Hawley's windows, the surgeons begged to have the body for dissection. But Hawley was reluctant to part with the pleasing spectacle; "at least," said he, "you shall "give me the skeleton to hang up in the guard-"room!" * — One of his first measures, on arriving

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, January 17. 1746. He adds that the soldiers' nickname for Hawley was, "the Lord Chief "Justice." His own will, dated March 29. 1749, is most discreditable to him in another respect; it contains this phrase, about his burial: "The priest, I conclude, will have his fee; let the puppy have it!"

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at Edinburgh to take the chief command, was to order two gibbets to be erected, ready for the rebels who he hoped might fall into his hands; and with a similar view he bid several executioners attend his army on its march. Such ferocity sinks Hawley very far below a man he often scoffed at,—his predecessor at Preston, —and appears altogether alien from the true military character: in one word, Cope was no general; but Hawley was not even a soldier!

The disposable force of Hawley being augmented by a few Yorkshire volunteers, by a similar body from Glasgow, and by some Argyleshire recruits under Colonel Campbell, was nearly the same as that of Charles, — between eight and nine thousand men. At the head of these he marched from Edinburgh to raise the siege of Stirling, and, as he confidently boasted, drive the rebels before him. On the other hand, Charles, hearing of his approach, left a few hundred men to continue the blockade of the Castle, and with the remainder advanced to meet the enemy. On the 16th of January he drew up his men on Bannockburn, a field, as he remarked, of happy augury to his arms, and awaited an attack; but found the English remain wholly inactive at Falkirk. His cavalry, whom he sent out to reconnoitre close to Hawley's camp, brought word that they could see no appearance of movement. Next morning he again drew up his army, and again awaited an attack; but still in vain; upon which, with characteristic ardour, he determined that his own

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troops should move forwards that same day, and become the aggressors in the battle.

1746. Hawley, meanwhile, filled with an ignorant contempt of the "Highland rabble," as he termed them, believed that they would disperse of themselves at the mere news of his approach, and neglected the most common precautions for security, such as sending out patroles. On the forenoon of that very day, the 17th, he allowed himself to be detained at Callender House, some distance from his men, by the courtesy and good cheer of the Countess of Kilmarnock, whose husband was in the insurgent army, and who had therefore strong motives for retarding and misleading the hostile chief. Only the second in command, General Huske, remained at the camp in front of Falkirk; he was a good officer, but had no authority to direct any decisive movement. His attention also was diverted by a well concerted stratagem of the Highland army: for while Charles, with his main body, marched round considerably to the south of the English camp (a route he had calculated so as to give his troops the advantage of the wind in the battle), he detached Lord John Drummond with all the cavalry towards the other extremity of Hawley's line, and along the straight road from Stirling to Falkirk. This detachment, having in its rear the ancient forest of the Torwood, was directed to display the Royal Standard and other colours, so as to produce an impression that the whole army was behind, and advancing from that quarter.

So successful was this feint, that General Huske's attention became wholly engrossed by the evolution of these distant squadrons; during which time Charles, with his main army, had already passed the river Carron, beyond Dunnipace, and was only separated from the enemy by the Falkirk Muir, a rugged and ridgy upland, now well cultivated, but then covered with heath.

It was now between one and two o'clock, and the English soldiers were preparing to take their dinner, when some country people, hastily running in, brought an account that the Highlanders were near at hand; and their report was confirmed by two of the officers mounting a tree, and through a telescope discovering the enemy in motion. The drums instantly beat to arms, and a pressing message was despatched to Hawley, at Callender House, while the troops were formed in line in front of their camp. Frequent, and surely not unfounded murmurs might now be heard amongst the men: — "Where is the General? — what shall "be done? — we have no orders!"*

Startled at these tidings, Hawley soon galloped up, in breathless haste, and without his hat; he immediately ordered his three regiments of dragoons to advance with him, full speed, to the top of Falkirk Muir, so as if possible to anticipate the Highlanders; and the foot he commanded to follow with their bayonets fixed. They pushed forward, with a storm of wind, to which heavy rain was now added,

* Home's History, p. 167.

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beating full in the faces of the soldiers. For some time it appeared like a race between the dragoons and the Highlanders, which should first attain the summit of the hill. The mountaineers, however, prevailed in that object; and the English, then halting, drew up on somewhat lower ground. There was a rugged ravine, that began at the centre, between the two armies, and deepened towards the plain, on the right of the King's forces; and the whole position, thus hastily chosen by Hawley, was far from favourable to the evolutions of regular troops. The English artillery, also, stuck fast in a morass, which formed part of the plain, and it could not be extricated; but, as the Highlanders had also left theirs behind, neither force had in that respect any advantage above the other.

Each of the armies now formed; the Prince's in two lines; his right commanded by Lord George Murray, and his left by Lord John Drummond, who, as soon as he saw the enemy take the alarm, had desisted from his feint, and rejoined the main body of his countrymen. Charles himself took his station, as at Preston, in the second line, or rather close behind it, on a conspicuous mound, still known by the name of CHARLIE'S HILL, and now overgrown with wood. For the English, their cavalry remained as they had come, in front, and their infantry drew up, like the insurgents, in two lines; while in the rear of all, stood a reserve, consisting of the Argyle militia and the Glasgow regiment. General Hawley commanded in the

centre, and Huske on the right; and the cavalry were under Colonel Ligonier, who on the death of Gardiner had succeeded to his regiment. CHAP. XXIX. 1746.

These arrangements being completed, Hawley sent orders to Ligonier to charge with all the horse on the enemy's right. The insurgents in that station, chiefly the Macdonald clans, seeing the dragoons come on, reserved their own fire, with the utmost steadiness and composure, until the English were within ten yards' distance; they then, at Lord George's signal, gave a general discharge, so close and well aimed, that a very large number of the hostile horsemen were seen to reel and fall from their saddles, and the survivors were completely broken. Two of the dragoon regiments, the same that had fled at the Coltbridge and at Preston, being now well skilled and experienced in that military operation, repeated it on this occasion. The third regiment, Cobham's, stood firmer, but was likewise compelled to yield, after heavy loss. It was now Lord George Murray's endeavour to bring back the Macdonalds into regular line; but their victorious ardour was not to be controlled; running forward, and loading their pieces as they ran, they fell upon the flank of Hawley's two columns of foot, which at the same moment were furiously assailed in front; the Highlanders, after their fire, dropping their muskets, and charging sword in hand. The English, on their part, nearly blinded by the wind and rain, and dispirited by their previous inaction, could not stand firm against

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this combined assault; in vain did their General attempt to animate them by his personal courage; his white head uncovered, and conspicuous in the front ranks of the combatants: the whole centre gave way in confusion, and betook themselves to flight. But on the extreme right of the Royal army the result had meanwhile been very different. The three regiments there, protected by the rugged bank of the ravine, maintained this natural fortification, and kept aloof the Highlanders from their favourite close onset, sword in hand. Nay more, being reinforced by Cobham's dragoons, who rallied in their rear, they not only checked the pursuit on their flank, but spread confusion into the ranks before them, of the Prince's left, many Highlanders scampering away from the field, under the belief that the day was lost, and spreading these disastrous tidings in their rear. Thus it might be said, that, of the Royal army, three fourths had been defeated, and one fourth victorious.

Charles seeing, from his commanding station, this state of things, immediately put himself at the head of his second line, and, advancing against the enemy's right, arrested their momentary triumph. They were now compelled, like their comrades, to withdraw from the field; but theirs was a retreat, and not, like their comrades', a flight: they marched in steady order, their drums beating, and colours displayed; and protected the mingled mass of other fugitives. Had the Highlanders, nevertheless, pursued at this critical moment, there seems little doubt that

the King's army must have been utterly destroyed. But the night was now setting in, early at this winter season, and the earlier from the violent storm which blew; and they deemed it imprudent to push forward in the darkness, suspecting, as they did, some stratagem or ambuscade. Lord John Drummond especially, who was a general officer in the French service, entertained and expressed that apprehension, when he saw the Scots Royal fly: "These "men," said he, "behaved admirably at Fontenoy— "surely this must be a feint!" Thus the insurgents remained for a considerable time upon the field, irresolute, disordered, and ignorant of their own success, until some detachments, sent forward by Charles, brought him the news that the English had already retreated from Falkirk. The Prince then (it was late in the evening, and the rain continued to fall in torrents,) made his entry into the town, and was conducted by torch-light to a lodging which had been prepared for him. Hawley, meanwhile, did not stop that night until Linlithgow, nor the next day until Edinburgh, where his troops arrived in much disorder and dejection. His only consolation was to make use of the gibbets erected for the rebels to punish his own soldiers; that is, such of them as had grossly misbehaved in the action. No less than four were executed in one day. On the field of battle he left about four hundred, dead or dying, with a large proportion of officers, amongst whom were Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, three Lieutenant Colonels, and nine Captains. The insurgents' loss

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was estimated by themselves at only forty men *; but was, probably, triple that number. There were also about one hundred prisoners taken from the Royal army; one of them John Home, afterwards the historian of this conflict. Three standards, and all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, fell into the hands of the insurgents, who might exult that an attempt made by Hawley to set fire to his tents, before he left them, was baffled by the rain. At Linlithgow, further on in the retreat, the English army succeeded better in their attempts at conflagration: some troops which had been quartered in the Royal Palace, next morning, before their departure, deliberately set it on fire, by raking the live embers from the hearths into the straw pallets, thus reducing the venerable pile to a blackened and desolate ruin, as it still remains.†

All that night, stormy though it was, the unwearied Highlanders employed themselves in plundering the camp, and stripping the dead bodies. This last work they performed so effectually, that a citizen of Falkirk, who next morning surveyed the slain from a distance, used to say that he could only compare them to a large flock of white sheep at rest on the face of the hill. ‡ The prisoners of the Glasgow regiments were roughly handled, as volunteers and eager partisans, but the others had better

* Collection of Declarations, &c. p. 72.

† Chambers' Hist. vol. ii. p. 53., and Scott's Provincial Antiquities, art. LINLITHGOW. But Grose ascribes the fire to accident. (Antiquities of Scotland, p. 232.)

‡ Chambers' History, vol. ii. p. 17.

treatment; and the greater number, for safe custody, were sent to the castle of Doune, all seeming much amazed at their disaster, when a triumph over the "Highland rabble" had been so confidently promised them. One prisoner (an Irishman perhaps) was even overheard to mutter to his comrades, "By my soul, if Charlie goes on in this way, "Prince Frederick will never be King George!"*

But this victory brought the Pretender no fruit, but barren laurels; nay, it may be said without a paradox, that it proved hurtful instead of advantageous to his cause. Among the officers, it raised an angry dissension; each lamenting that the destruction of the enemy had not been completed; Lord George Murray inveighing against Lord John Drummond, and Lord John retaliating upon Lord George. The common Highlanders, loaded with plunder, went off as usual to their mountains to secure it; and thus was the army deprived for a time of several hundreds, nay thousands, of its men. An unfortunate accident also, which occurred the day after the battle, tended in no small degree to increase this desertion. One of Clanranald's clansmen was examining a musket, a part of his booty, as he stood at an open window, when the piece went off, and by mischance killed a son of Glengarry who was passing in the street. Charles, foreseeing the ill effects that might ensue, exerted himself to show every respect to the memory of the deceased, attending the funeral himself

* MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel.

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as chief mourner. The tribe of Glengarry, nevertheless, far from appeased, loudly demanded life for life; and Clanranald having reluctantly agreed to surrender his follower, the poor man was immediately led out and shot dead with a volley of bullets, — his own father joining in the fire, that his sufferings might end the sooner. But even this savage act of vengeance was not sufficient to satisfy the offended clan; and the greater number, yielding to their grief or rage, forsook the Prince's standard, and withdrew to their mountain homes.

On the evening after his victory Charles again encamped on Bannockburn, where he employed a press, which he had brought from Glasgow, to print a quarto sheet, containing an account of the battle.* This proved to be the last of his Scottish Proclamations or Gazettes. He now resumed the siege of Stirling Castle, deeming it derogatory to his arms to relinquish any enterprise of danger once begun, and thus leaving his enemies full leisure to recover from their recent defeat.

When the tidings of the battle of Falkirk reached the Court of St. James's (it was on the day of a Drawing-Room) every countenance, it is said, appeared clouded with doubts and apprehension, except only the King's, whose heart was inaccessible to fear, and Sir John Cope's, who rejoiced to have at last a partner in his misfortune or misconduct.†

* Collection of Declarations, &c. p. 69—72.

† See Quarterly Review, No. lxxi. p. 180. An abstracted Scottish Peer, at this Drawing Room, addressed Sir John by the title of General Hawley, to the no small amusement of the company.

The Duke of Cumberland, in conversation with the Earl of Marchmont, "laid the blame of the affair "of Hawley on want of discipline, and said, were he "there he would attack the rebels with the men "that Hawley had left."* This determination was speedily put to the proof; for the fear of a French invasion having now subsided, and the want of another general in Scotland being manifest, his Royal Highness was appointed to the chief command in that country, and was earnestly requested to set out immediately. Travelling night and day, he arrived most unexpectedly at Holyrood House on the morning of the 30th of January,—a day, as usual, of ill augury to the house of Stuart,— and he chose for himself the same apartments, nay even the same bed, in the palace, which had lately been occupied by Charles.

The Royal Duke destined to wield so decisive an influence over the fortunes of his cousin and competitor, was of very nearly the same age, being only four months younger. He had not, however, the same graces of person, being corpulent and unwieldy to a remarkable degree, and in his manner rough and displeasing. His character was adorned by considerable virtues; honesty of purpose, adherence to his promises, attachment to his friends. He was a dutiful son, and a liberal patron; as a soldier, he was enthusiastically fond of his profession; he had closely studied its details, and might even be lauded for capacity in an age which, to England at least, was

* Lord Marchmont's Diary, January 23. 1746.

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singularly barren of military merit. His unwearied activity and his high personal courage would, however, at any period have justly claimed applause. But, as one of his own friends complains, "his "judgment is too much guided by his passions, "which are often violent and ungovernable." * Against his foreign adversaries he displayed no undue asperity, and towards his soldiers he could sometimes show compassion; thus, for instance, on arriving at Edinburgh he immediately arrested the course of Hawley's savage executions: yet even his own army often murmured at his harshness and rigour; and as to any rebel, he treated him with as little mercy as he might a wolf. Never perhaps did any insurgents meet a more ungenerous enemy. From the deeds of blood in Scotland, — committed by his own order in some cases, and connived at in many more, — his contemporaries branded him with a disgraceful by-word — THE BUTCHER; and the historian who cannot deny the guilt, must repeat and ratify the name.

The Duke of Cumberland remained but thirty hours at Edinburgh: on the 31st he set forward with his army to give the insurgents battle; his favourite Hawley still acting under him as one Lieutenant-General; and the other was the Earl of Albemarle. Officers and soldiers were in high spirits, and confident of victory under their new commander. But on approaching Falkirk his Royal Highness was informed that the rebels had

* Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 23.

already commenced their retreat; the causes of which I shall now proceed to detail. CHAP. XXIX. 1746.

In the siege of Stirling, Charles had employed as his engineer one M. Mirabelle, a vain volatile Frenchman, who had come over with Lord John Drummond. So ignorant was this man of his profession, that the batteries he constructed with great labour were entirely commanded and soon silenced by the fire of the Castle. Still, however, the Prince persevered, taking only the advice of his favourite counsellors, Secretary Murray, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and the Quarter-Master-General. But the other chief officers, mortified both at their loss of confidence since the Derby retreat, and at the slow and doubtful progress of the present siege, determined to assert their authority by holding a consultation of their own. The result was a memorial signed by many influential names, and sent to the Prince by Lord George Murray, who was no doubt the secret mover of the whole design. This memorial is still preserved: * after lamenting the number of Highlanders gone home, and the unequal chances of another battle, it proceeds: "We "are therefore humbly of opinion that there is no "way to extricate the army out of the most im- "minent danger, but by retiring immediately to "the Highlands, where we can be usefully employed "the remainder of the winter by taking and mas-

* Home's Hist. Append. No. 39. Those who signed it were Lord George Murray, Lochiel, Keppoch, Clanranald, Ardshiel, Lochgarry, Scothouse, and Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat.

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"tering the forts of the North, and we are morally "sure we can keep as many men together as will "answer that end, and hinder the enemy from "following us into the mountains at this season of "the year; and in spring we doubt not but an "army of 10,000 effective Highlanders can be "brought together, and follow your Royal Highness "wherever you think proper."

This remonstrance, coming from such persons, and armed with all the force of a command, struck the Prince with astonishment and grief. Lord George had been with him but the day before, and shown him a plan he had drawn for the intended battle, which Charles had approved and corrected with his own hand. In the same view, likewise, had the sick and wounded of the army already been sent to the rear at Dumblane. When, therefore, he read the paper disclosing such different designs, he could scarcely believe his eyes: he passionately exclaimed, "Good God! have I lived to see this?" and dashed his head against the wall with so much violence that he staggered. He sent Sir Thomas Sheridan to argue with the chiefs against their project; but finding them firm, had no alternative but a sullen acquiescence.*

The insurgents accordingly began their retreat on the 1st of February, first spiking their heavy cannon, and blowing up their powder magazine at St. Ninian's. So ill was this last operation con-

* John Hay's Account of the Retreat from Falkirk (Home's Appendix, p. 355.).

trived, that the explosion destroyed, together with the magazine, the neighbouring church, and lost the lives of several country people; nor did party spirit fail to impute this accident to deliberate and malignant design. The best proof to the contrary will be found in the fact, that some of the insurgent soldiers themselves, and particularly the man who fired the train, were amongst the killed. Very little, however, of discipline or regularity was observed in the retreat. Charles, with a frowardness and recklessness that seem to have been part of his character, whenever he was thwarted, had either neglected to give the needful orders, or suddenly changed them after they were given, and much confusion and loss of baggage ensued.* The direction of the retreat was to Crieff, where the army separated in two divisions; nor did they reunite for some weeks; both, however, making their way by different roads towards Inverness. They were pursued, but not overtaken, by the Duke of Cumberland, who, fixing his head-quarters at Perth, sent out detachments to reduce the neighbouring districts.

While such were the events in the North, the Court of St. James's was agitated by a short but singular ministerial revolution. The Royal favour

* At a council of war, called near Crieff, there was great complaint and recrimination amongst the officers, as to the disorder of the retreat. Charles ended their quarrel by saying very handsomely, that he would take all the blame on himself. (Lord George Murray's Narrative, Jacobite Memoirs, p. 100.)

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had been for some time engrossed by Lord Granville: the Pelham brothers found themselves treated with coldness and reserve, and apprehended that in carrying the supplies this winter they would only be paving the way for their own dismissal at the end of the session. To them, the unquelled rebellion appeared, not as a motive of forbearance, but only as a favourable opportunity for pushing their pretensions. They determined, therefore, to bring the question to an issue, and to concentrate their demands on one point—an office for Pitt—to whom they were bound by their promises, and still more by their fears. The King, however, guided by Lord Granville, and under Granville by Lord Bath, and mindful of Pitt's old philippics against Hanover, steadily refused his assent to this arrangement. On the 6th of February, Lord Bath, coming from the Royal closet, said frankly to Lord Harrington, that he had advised the King to negative Mr. Pitt's appointment, and to pursue proper (he meant Hanoverian) measures on the Continent. Lord Harrington coldly replied, "They who dictate in private should be employed in public."* A resignation was now resolved upon by nearly all the ministers. In this affair the Pelhams prudently shrunk from the front ranks; the van therefore was led by Harrington, he being the first, on the 10th, to give up the seals, and thus drawing on himself the King's especial and lasting resentment. He

* Coxe's Memoirs of Horace Lord Walpole, p. 295.

was followed on the same day by the Duke of Newcastle, on the next by Mr. Pelham. Other self-denying placemen now poured in, with their white staves and gold keys. His Majesty immediately sent the two seals of Secretaries of State to Lord Granville (who was indisposed), that he and Lord Bath might form an administration as they pleased. "Thus far," says Horace Walpole, "all went swimmingly; they had only forgotten one little point, "which was to secure a majority in both Houses."* Scarce any man of weight or reputation was found willing to join them. Chief Justice Willes declined to be their Lord Chancellor, and Sir John Barnard to be their Chancellor of the Exchequer. After various offers and repeated refusals, this ministry of forty hours was dissolved, and Lord Bath announced its failure to the King, who bitterly complained of his painful situation, and cried shame that a man like Newcastle, who was not fit, said he, for a chamberlain to a petty Court in Germany, should be forced on him and the nation as Prime Minister. His Majesty had, however, no other choice than to reinstate his former servants, and admit whatever terms they now required. It was agreed to dismiss from place the remaining adherents of Bath and Granville, amongst others the Marquis of Tweeddale, whose office as Secretary for Scotland was again abolished. Pitt became—not indeed Secretary at War, as was asked at first—but Vice-Treasurer of

* To Sir H. Mann, February 14. 1746.

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Ireland, and soon afterwards, on the death of Winnington, Paymaster of the Forces. The Opposition grew still weaker from their weakness being so signally tested and disclosed, and dwindled for some time to a scarcely perceivable minority. Yet Lord Granville's high spirits never forsook him; he continued to laugh and drink as before, owning that the attempt was mad, but that he was quite ready to do it again.*

In Scotland the war languished for several weeks. Charles, on approaching Inverness, found it rudely fortified with a ditch and palisade, and held by Lord Loudon's army of about 2000 men. In the first instance, therefore, the Prince halted ten miles from the town, at Moy Castle, the seat of the Chief of Mac Intosh. The Chief himself was serving with Lord Loudon, but Lady Mac Intosh remained to raise the clan for the opposite party, and rode in their front as commander, with a man's bonnet on her head, and pistols at her saddle-bow. The neighbourhood of Moy Castle, however, and the security in which Charles was living, incited Lord Loudon to a sudden night-march, in hopes to seize his person. But this well-concerted scheme was baffled by no more than six or seven of the Mac Intoshes, who, meeting the King's troops, dispersed themselves in different parts of the wood, and fired upon the

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, Febuary 14. 1746. Duke of Newcastle to the Earl of Chesterfield, February 18. 1746. Coxe's Pelham.

advancing columns, at the same time imitating the war-cries of Lochiel, Keppoch, and other well-known clans, and thus producing an impression that the whole Highland army was at hand. The King's troops, astonished and doubtful from the darkness, hastily turned back to Inverness, where they arrived in so much confusion that their retreat was afterwards known by the name of the Rout of Moy.

Next morning, the 17th of February, the Chevalier assembled his men, and on the 18th advanced to Inverness to repay Lord Loudon his unfriendly visit. The Earl, however, did not wait his coming; he embarked with the Lord President and with his soldiers in boats, and rowed across the Moray Frith to Cromarty. He was afterwards pursued by the Earl of Cromarty and some Highland regiments marching round the head of the inlet, and was compelled to cross the Great Ferry into Sutherland. Here, still followed by Cromarty, his army disbanded. But Lord Cromarty, too confident in his first success, was surprised in his turn, and taken prisoner with his officers at Dunrobin Castle, by a body of the Sutherland militia. This last event, however, did not occur till the day before the battle of Culloden, and had therefore no influence upon the main events of the campaign.

Having occupied the town of Inverness, Charles applied himself to the siege of the citadel, which surrendered in a few days. Another of his parties reduced and destroyed Fort Augustus, but was less

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successful before Fort William, as they could not prevent its communications by the sea. Lord George Murray likewise failed in taking the Castle of Blair, which a doughty veteran, Sir Andrew Agnew, maintained with some regular troops; and this failure greatly tended to heighten the suspicions, though most unjust ones, which Charles already entertained of Lord George's fidelity. A rough draught in Charles's writing, and amongst the Stuart Papers, declares that "when Lord George Murray "undertook the attack of the post of Blair Castle, "he took an officer, whom he sent back without so "much as consulting the Prince — a thing so con- "trary to all military practice, that no one that has "the least sense can be guilty of it, without some "private reason of his own." Such doubts and jealousies amongst the chiefs hastened and embittered the decline of their cause, and still more severely did they suffer from the failure of money and provisions. They were now cooped up in barren mountains, and debarred from their Lowland resources: and though the supplies of France were frequently despatched, they could seldom at this period reach their destination. Several ships were captured by the British cruisers, others steered back to the French ports; one, the Hazard, having on board 150 soldiers and 10,000*l.* in gold, ran ashore on the north coast of Sutherland, and both crew and cargo were taken by the tribe of the Mac Kays. Thus Charles's little treasury was soon reduced to 500 Louis d'ors, and he was compelled to pay his troops

in meal, — to the desertion of many, to the discontent and indiscipline of those that remained. * Nor were even these supplies of meal certain and invariable; the men were often pinched with hunger, and unavoidably dispersed over the country for subsistence, while, according to the report of an English prisoner, even the best officers were glad when they could procure a few blades of raw cabbage from the farmers' gardens.† 1746.

During this time the Duke of Cumberland's army was, on the contrary, well supplied and powerfully reinforced. In February, there landed at Leith Prince Frederick of Hesse Cassel, with 5000 auxiliaries from his country, who had been hired, with consent of Parliament, in the place of the Dutch troops. For these last being the same that had capitulated at Tournay and Dendermond, and been set free under parole not to serve against any soldiers of France, Lord John Drummond had, immediately upon his landing, despatched a message to their commander, stating his own commission in the French service, and his arrival at the head of a French regiment, and requiring therefore that the Dutch troops should withdraw from the contest, — a summons which they

* "Our army had got no pay in money for some time past, "but meal only, which the men being obliged to sell out and "convert into money, it went but a short way for their other "needs, at which the poor creatures grumbled exceedingly, and "were suspicious that we officers had detained it from them.' Macdonald's Journal, Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 508.

† Chambers' Hist. vol. ii. p. 82.

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had accordingly obeyed. The Hessians now served to garrison and secure the south of Scotland for the Duke of Cumberland, thus enabling him to draw together his whole native force against the rebels. After a visit to Edinburgh for a consultation with the Prince of Hesse, he had fixed his head-quarters at Aberdeen, where it was commonly believed that he intended to remain till summer. But they who thought thus, knew not the daring and active energy of that Royal Chief.*

On the 8th of April, the Duke set forth from Aberdeen, at the head of about 8000 foot and 900 cavalry. His march was directed to Inverness, with the intention to offer his enemy a battle; and proceeding along the coast, he was attended and supplied by the fleet. At Banff he seized and hanged two Highland spies, employed, according to their primitive manner, in notching the numbers of his army upon a stick.† There now lay before him the Spey, a deep and rapid mountain stream, where he apprehended some resistance to his passage. Several weeks before, Charles had despatched Lord John Drummond with a strong party to defend the fords; and some batteries had accordingly been raised upon the left bank.

* According to H. Walpole, "the Duke complains extremely "of the *loyal* Scotch; he says he can get no intelligence, and "reckons himself more in an enemy's country than when he "was warring with the French in Flanders." To Sir H. Mann, March 21. 1746.

† Chambers' Hist. vol. ii. p. 82.

But as the Duke brought up cannon sufficient to command these imperfect works, Lord John justly considered his position as untenable, and fell back to Inverness, while the Royal army forded the Spey in three divisions on the 12th, and on the 14th entered Nairn. Beyond this town some skirmishing ensued between the Highland rear and the English van; but Charles coming up suddenly to support the former with his Guards from Inverness, the latter in their turn retired.

Charles and his principal officers lodged that night at Culloden House, the seat of his ablest enemy in Scotland, President Forbes. His troops lay upon the moor, where the heath, as one of the subalterns remarks, "served us both for bedding and "fuel, the cold being very severe." * Early on the 15th they were drawn out in battle order, and expected an attack; but no enemy appearing, Lord Elcho was sent forward with his cavalry to reconnoitre, and brought word that the Duke of Cumberland had halted at Nairn, and that this being his birthday, his troops were passing it in festivity and mirth. The provision from their ships was abundant; the insurgents, on the other hand, were so ill supplied that only a single biscuit could be served out to each man during the whole of the 15th. In numbers they were scarcely less deficient: notwithstanding every exertion, some of their best regiments had not been able to rejoin them; thus Cluny, Lord Cromarty, and the Master

* MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel.

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of Lovat were absent, so that barely 5000 men could be mustered on the field.

Charles's spirit, however, was still undaunted. He had declared, two days before, that he was willing to attack, had he but a thousand men. He now, on Lord Elcho's report, assembled a council of war, with a secret design to compensate for his inferiority of numbers by a night-march, so as to surprise the Duke in his camp at Nairn, the distance being about twelve miles. In the council, he found Lord George Murray suggest this very scheme: Charles then rose and embraced him, and acknowledged the project as his own; upon which, by common consent, orders were immediately given for its execution.† By the Prince's directions, the heath was set on fire,

* Letter of Lord George Murray, August 5. 1749, printed in Home's Appendix.

† The account of this transaction is derived from a very rough draught or fragment in Charles's writing preserved amongst the Stuart Papers. It states: "When the enemy was so much ap- "proaching, and seeming to be determined to attack us lastly "at Inverness, if we did not them, the Prince called a council of "war, when all the chiefs were assembled and Lord George "Murray. The Prince let every one speak before him. Lord "George Murray was the last, and he proposed to attack that "night as the best expedient: this was just what the Prince in- "tended, but he kept it in his breast. The Prince then em- "braced Lord George Murray, approved it, and owned it was "his project. It was agreed upon; but then it was question of "the manner. It is to be observed, that the Prince proposed "to keep Fort Augustus, and to make it serve as a place of "rallying in case of a defeat. But that was unanimously rejected "by the chiefs; so it was blown up."

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that the light might convey an idea of his troops being still in the same position: the watchword he assigned, was "King James the Eighth." But meanwhile numerous stragglers had left the ranks, repairing to Inverness and other places in quest of food; and they told the officers sent after them, to shoot them if they pleased, rather than compel them to starve any longer. From this cause some precious hours were lost, and many good soldiers missed, and it was not till eight at night that every preparation was completed. Charles then appointed Lord George Murray to command the first column, put himself at the head of that which followed, and gave the signal to march.

The night was dark, and so far favourable to the project of surprise; but for the same reason it misled the guides and retarded the progress of the troops. Exhausted with privations, they could not display their wonted energy; slowly and painfully did they toil through waste or marshy ground, many men dropping altogether from the ranks, and the rear falling considerably behind the van. Under these disadvantages it was two in the morning before the head of the first column passed Kilravock House, within four miles of the English camp. This was the very hour for which the attack had been designed; and Lord George pointed out to his officers that it was now no longer possible for them to reach the enemy before the dawn should expose them to his observation. Several gentlemen — Hepburn of Keith above all —

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still vehemently adhered to the first project, saying that the Highland broad-sword would not be the worse for a little daylight to direct its operations. But notwithstanding this flourish, it was plain that all hopes of a surprise had ended, and that the object of the night-march had failed. During the discussion, Mr. O'Sullivan came up with a message from the Prince, that his Royal Highness would be glad to have the attack made; but that, as Lord George was in the van, he could best judge whether it could be done in time or not. Thus empowered, Lord George gave orders for retreat; Charles afterwards riding up, was convinced by his reasoning of the unavoidable necessity; and the troops, sadly retracing their steps, took up their original position on Drummossie, or Culloden Moor.*

Thus on the morning of April the 16th the Highlanders were harassed and hungry, and without any neighbouring stores of provision; even for the Prince himself no refreshment beyond a little bread and whiskey could be found. It was now the wish of Lord George Murray and other skilful offi-

* Lord George was afterwards accused (most unjustly) of treachery, and of commanding the retreat without orders. There is some discrepancy, which in my narrative I have attempted to reconcile, between his own account (Letter, August 5, 1749), and an answer to a query sent to Charles in Italy, nearly thirty years later (Home's Appendix, No. 44.) Lord George's recollection is likely to be the more correct so shortly after the transaction. But it is singular and very honourable to both the parties concerned that Charles's account acquits Lord George still more completely than Lord George does himself, of the alleged crime of acting without orders.

cers that the army thus unfitted for exertion should retire, and take up a position beyond the river Nairn, where the ground was high and inaccessible to cavalry, so that the Duke of Cumberland could not have engaged them but at great disadvantage to himself. Charles, on the other hand, like his forefather at Flodden, was embued with the chivalrous idea, that he ought never to decline a battle on fair ground, nor enable his enemies afterwards to say, that his victory had not been owing to his valour. Besides, as Lord George Murray complains, "His Royal Highness had so much confidence in the bravery of his army, that he "was rather too hazardous, and was for fighting "the enemy on all occasions."* It appears moreover that the counsellors on whom he most relied, instead of checking his romantic rashness, rather urged him forward. According to another officer who was present, "when proposals were "made to retire over the river Nairn, which "might have been done with great facility, Sir "Thomas Sheridan and others from France having "lost all patience, and hoping no doubt for a "miracle, in which light most of them had con-"sidered both the victory at Preston and that at "Falkirk, insisted upon a battle, and prevailed, "without reflecting that many were then absent, "and those on the spot spent and discouraged by "a forced march during a long dark night, whereas

* See Jacobite Memoirs, p. 122.

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"upon the other two occasions the men were in "full vigour and spirits."*

The insurgents were now drawn up for battle in two lines: on the right the Athol brigade, the Camerons, the Stuarts, and some other clans under Lord George Murray; on the left, the Macdonald regiments, under Lord John Drummond. "But "we of the clan Macdonald" says one of their officers, "thought it ominous that we had not this "day the right hand in battle, as formerly at "Gladsmuir and at Falkirk, and which our clan "maintains we had enjoyed in all our battles and "struggles since the battle of Bannockburn."† The right flank on this occasion was covered by some straggling park walls; to the left began a gentle slope leading down towards Culloden House. Thus placed it was about eleven o'clock when the Highland out-posts first observed the horizon darken with the advancing masses of the Duke of Cumberland's army. The Duke on approaching formed his army with great skill in three lines, with cavalry on each wing, and two pieces of cannon between every two regiments of the first line. To obviate the effect of the Highland target he had instructed his soldiers, that each of them in action should direct his thrust, not at the man directly opposite, but against the one who fronted his right hand comrade. He now again addressed his troops, saying that he could

* Answers of Mr. Patullo, Muster-master-General of the Insurgent Army, (Home's Appendix, p. 332.)

† Macdonald's Journal, (Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 510.)

not suppose that there was any man in the British army reluctant to fight, but if there were any, who either from disinclination to the cause, or from having relations in the rebel army would prefer to retire, he begged them in the name of God to do so, as he would rather face the Highlanders with 1000 determined men at his back, than have 10,000 with a tithe who were lukewarm.* He was answered by loud huzzas and repeated shouts of "Flanders! Flanders!" It being nearly one o'clock before his arrangements were completed, it was proposed to His Royal Highness that he should allow the men to dine before the battle. "No," he replied, "they will fight more actively "with empty bellies, and besides, it would be a bad "omen. You remember what a dessert they got to "their dinner at Falkirk!"

The battle began with a cannonade on both sides, by which (so different was the skill of their artillerymen!) the Royal army suffered little, but the insurgent greatly. Of the rival princes, William at once took up his position between the first and second lines; Charles, before repairing to his, rode along the ranks to animate the men. His little party soon became a conspicuous mark for the enemy's cannon; several of his guardsmen fell, and a servant, who held a led horse, was killed by his side, the Prince himself being covered by the earth

* Chambers' Hist. vol. ii. p. 103.; from the note-book of an English officer who was present.

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thrown up by the ball. Not discomposed, however, he coolly continued his inspection, and then, as at Falkirk, stationed himself on a little height just behind the second line. Meanwhile a storm of snow and hail had begun to fall, but unlike that at Falkirk, blowing full in the faces of the Highlanders. At length Lord George Murray, finding his division of the right lose so much more than they inflicted from the cannonade, sent Colonel Ker of Gradon to the Prince requesting permission to attack. This being granted, the right wing and the centre, with one loud shout, rushed furiously forward, sword in hand; they were received with a rolling fire, both of cannon and grapeshot, but yet so resistless was their onset that they broke through Monro's and Burrell's regiments in the first line, and captured two pieces of cannon. But the Duke foreseeing the chance of this event, and with the view to provide against it, had carefully strengthened and stationed his second line; it was drawn up three deep, the front rank kneeling, the second bending forward, the third standing upright. These, reserving their fire till the Highlanders were close upon them, poured in a volley so well sustained and destructive as completely to disorder them. Before they could recover, the Royal troops improved the advantage, and driving the clans together till they became one mingled mass, turned them from assailants into fugitives. Some of their best DUNNIE WASSAILS and the Chief of Mac Lauchlan were killed and trampled down; the brave Lochiel fell wounded,

but was carried from the field by his two henchmen; and the call of the other chiefs arose unheeded and overborne. In short the whole right and centre of the insurgents were now in irretrievable rout, pursued by superior numbers, and drooping from previous exhaustion.

Yet let it not be deemed that even thus their courage failed. Not by their forefathers at Bannockburn — not by themselves at Preston or at Falkirk — not in after years when discipline had raised and refined their valour — not on the shores of the Nile — not on that other field of victory where their gallant chief, with a prophetic shroud (it is their own superstition) high upon his breast*, addressed to them only these three words, HIGHLANDERS, REMEMBER EGYPT † — not in those hours of triumph and of glory was displayed a more firm and resolute bravery than now in the defeat at Culloden. The right and centre had done all that human strength

* "When a shroud is perceived about one, it is a sure prognostic of death, and the time is judged according to the height of it about the person; for if it is seen above the middle, death is not to be expected for the space of a year, but as it ascends higher towards the head, death is concluded to be at hand, within a few days if not hours, as daily experience confirms." (Martin's Western Islands, 1716. p. 300. and Scott's Poetical Works, vol. viii. p. 306. ed. 1834.) I know not whether it has ever been noticed, that the Highland word for a seer, *Taishatr*, is nearly the same as the Turkish: —

"Warned by the voice of stern *Tahcer*."

† The words of Sir John Moore to the 42d regiment at the battle of Coruña. (Southey's Peninsular War, vol. ii. p. 524. 8vo. ed.)

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or human spirit could do—they had yielded only to necessity and numbers — and like the captive monarch at Pavia might boast that every thing was lost but their honour.

On the left however the Macdonalds aggrieved, and as they thought, disgraced by their exclusion from the post of honour, stood moody, motionless and irresolute to fight. In vain did the Duke of Perth who was stationed there tell them that, if they behaved with their usual valour, they would make a right of the left, and he would call himself in future a Macdonald.* In vain did Keppoch rush forward to the charge with a few of his kinsmen; the clan (an event almost unexampled in Highland warfare) would not follow; calmly they beheld their chief brought to the ground by several shots from the enemy; calmly they heard the dying words which he faltered forth, "My God! "have the children of my tribe forsaken me!" Thus they stood while the right and centre of their army was put to the rout, and then falling back in good order they joined the remnant of the second line. But at the same time their rear became exposed to another body of English horse and Argyleshire Highlanders, who breaking gaps through the inclosures on the rebel right, formed again upon the open moor beyond, and must, if reinforced in time, have cut off all retreat from the defeated army.

* Home's Hist. p. 234. In the Tales of a Grandfather, this saying is erroneously ascribed to Lord George Murray, who commanded on the other wing. (Vol. iii. p. 250.)

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Charles, from the height where he stood with one squadron of horse, gazed on the rout of his army and the ruin of his cause with wonder, nay almost with incredulity, with unavailing orders and passionate tears. It was then that Lord Elcho spurring up to him proposed that His Royal Highness should put himself at the head of the yet unbroken left, and charge forward with them to retrieve the fortune of the day. The other officers however concurred in thinking that the battle was irretrievably lost, and that a single wing of an army could never prevail against the whole of another army far superior at the first. If, as it appeared to them the only hope lay in rallying, it follows, that to continue the battle without any prospect of gaining it, could only serve to increase the slaughter, and diminish the chance of collecting the survivors. To Lord Elcho's proposal therefore the Prince returned a doubtful or negative answer, upon which Lord Elcho, according to his own account, turned away with a bitter execration, swearing that he would never look upon his face again. It is added that he kept his word, and in his exile used always to leave Paris whenever Charles entered it.* — Some suspicion however should attach to the whole of this story, because the latter part is certainly unfounded. The official account now lies before me, of Charles's first public audience at the Court of France after his return,

* See Quarterly Review, No. lxxi. p. 213. with a reference to Lord Elcho's MS. Memoirs.

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and amongst the foremost of his train on that occasion appears Lord Elcho.* I must further observe that Lord Elcho was a man of most violent temper, and no very constant fidelity. Within two months from the date of this battle he made overtures for pardon to the British Court, "but," says Horace Walpole, "as he has distinguished himself "beyond all the Jacobite commanders by brutality, "and insults and cruelty to our prisoners, I think he "is likely to remain where he is†;" and so he did! There is also some contrary evidence as to Charles's behaviour. A Cornet in his squadron of horse, who was close by his side, left an attestation when at the point of death, that the Prince had resolved to go down and charge with the remaining Highlanders, but that the Cornet saw O'Sullivan seize his horse by the bridle, and, assisted by Sheridan, force him from the fatal field.

It is true that Charles had repeatedly declared at the outset of his enterprise that he was resolved either to prevail or perish—and that he did neither. Yet we must remember, that not only at Culloden but for some days afterwards there were still hopes of rallying the army and renewing the war. And

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 567.

† To Sir H. Mann, June 20, 1746. See also a note to Waverley, vol. ii. p. 272. I consider Chevalier Johnstone as no authority in any question of fact, but I observe that, though concurring in Lord Elcho's accusation, he gives an entirely different colour to it, by placing the conversation between Lord Elcho and the Prince, "some hours *after* the battle, beside the river Nairn." (Mem. p. 198. 8vo. ed.)

even waiving those hopes Charles's conduct in this respect may be favourably compared with that of a far greater man, at a far more matured period of life. Only four days before the battle of Waterloo, it was announced by Napoleon—not like Charles in private letters, but in a public and recorded proclamation—"The moment is come for every Frenchman "of courage, either to conquer or to die!"*

The little remnant of the rebel army with which Charles might have charged, did not long remain compact and united; being pressed by the Royal forces it broke into two divisions. Of these the smaller, comprising all the French auxiliaries, fled towards Inverness, where they laid down their arms to the Duke of Cumberland. The other, preserving some degree of order, but thinned every moment by men hastening singly to their homes, made its way to Ruthven in Badenoch. Fourteen of their stands of colours, 2300 firelocks, and all their cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the English. The victors reckoned their own loss in killed and wounded at 310 men; that of the insurgents was about 1000, or a fifth of their army. Quarter was seldom given to the stragglers and fugitives, except to a few considerately reserved for public execution. No

* "Pour tout Français qui a du cœur, le moment est arrivé "de vaincre ou de périr!" *Ordre du Jour*, signed Napoleon, June 14. 1815. "Ancient heroes," says the author of Anastasius, "have been praised for dying without the least necessity, and "modern worthies for living without the smallest hopes!"

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care or compassion was shown to their wounded; nay more, on the following day, most of them were put to death in cold blood, with a cruelty such as never perhaps before or since has disgraced a British army. Some were dragged from the thickets or cabins where they had sought refuge, drawn out in line and shot, while others were dispatched by the soldiers with the stocks of their muskets. One farm-building, into which some twenty disabled Highlanders had crawled, was deliberately set on fire the next day, and burnt with them to the ground. The native prisoners were scarcely better treated; and even sufficient water was not vouchsafed to their thirst. "I myself," says a gentleman of Inverness, "have often gone by the prison at that "melancholy time, when I heard the prisoners "calling out for water in the most pitiful man-"ner."* —To palliate these severities it was afterwards said in the Royal army, that an order had been found in Lord George Murray's writing, that the Highlanders if victorious should give no quarter. But this pretended order was never shown or seen; it is utterly at variance with the insurgents' conduct in their previous battles; and was often and most solemnly denied by their prisoners.

From the field of Culloden Charles had rode away with Sheridan, O'Sullivan, and other horse-

* Minutes of conversation between Bishop Forbes and Mr. Francis Stuart, son of Bailie Stuart of Inverness, October 4, 1748.

men to Gortuleg, where Lord Lovat was residing. It was the first and last meeting between them; but small was the sympathy or consolation which the young Prince received from the hoary, and now despairing, intriguer. While Charles exclaimed on the ruin of the cause, Lovat thought only of his own; he forgot even the common courtesy of a host, and they parted in mutual displeasure. Resuming his flight, at ten o'clock the same evening, Charles and his little party rode rapidly on to Glengarry's castle of Invergarry, where they arrived two hours before daybreak of the 17th, so utterly exhausted that they could only throw themselves upon the floor in their clothes. The success of a fisherman, who went out and caught two salmon from the neighbouring brook, afforded their only chance of food; nor was there any other beverage than the same brook supplied. Yet how slight were these hardships compared to those which followed! — There was still some prospect of rallying an army at Ruthven, to which about 1200 fugitives from Culloden had repaired, directed by the talent, and animated by the spirit, of Lord George Murray. But the want of supplies of all kinds — the terror of the recent battle — the growing dispersion — and the far superior forces of the enemy at hand — ere long dispelled these lingering hopes. Lord George, indeed, was still for persevering at all hazards, but a message was received from Charles, thanking the gentlemen present for their zeal, but urging them

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to do only what each might think best for his own safety, and they accordingly dispersed. And thus was the Rebellion finally extinguished.*

The Duke of Cumberland now fixed his head-quarters near Fort Augustus, in the very centre of the insurgent districts. It would have been a task welcome to most generals, and not unbecoming in any, to have tempered justice with mercy, — to reserve the chiefs or principal delinquents for trial and punishment, but to spare, protect, and conciliate the people at large. Not such, however, was the Duke of Cumberland's opinion of his duty. Every kind of havoc and outrage was not only permitted, but, I fear we must add, encouraged. Military license usurped the place of law, and a fierce and exasperated soldiery were at once judge — jury — executioner. In such transactions it is natural and reasonable to suppose that the Jacobites would exaggerate their own sufferings and the wrongs of their opponents, nor, therefore, should we attach much weight to mere loose and vague complaints. But where we find specific cases alleged, with names and dates, attested on most respectable authority — by gentlemen of high honour and character — by bishops and clergymen of the Episcopal church — in some cases, even by members of the victorious party — then are we

* There was some idea of rallying the clans in the May following, but it proved wholly abortive. The correspondence of Lochiel and Cluny on this subject is printed in Home's Appendix, No. 47—51.

bound not to shrink from the truth, however the truth may be displeasing. From such evidence it appears that the rebels' country was laid waste, the houses plundered, the cabins burnt, the cattle driven away. The men had fled to the mountains, but such as could be found were frequently shot; nor was mercy always granted even to their helpless families. In many cases, the women and children, expelled from their homes and seeking shelter in the clefts of the rocks, miserably perished of cold and hunger; others were reduced to follow the track of the marauders, humbly imploring for the blood and offal of their own cattle which had been slaughtered for the soldiers' food! — Such is the avowal which historical justice demands. But let me turn from further details of these painful and irritating scenes, or of the ribald frolics and revelry with which they were intermingled — races of naked women on horseback for the amusement of the camp at Fort Augustus! * General Hawley, it is said, was foremost in every cruelty, and much more deeply conscious of, and responsible for, them than his Royal Master. Yet the latter must be condemned in no small degree, even judging only from his own correspondence. He writes to the Duke of Newcastle before Culloden: — "All in this country are "almost to a man Jacobites, and mild measures will "not do. You will find that the whole of the laws "of this ancient kingdom must be new modelled.

* Rev. James Hay of Inverness; attestation to Bishop Forbes, received, June 30, 1750.

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"Were I to enumerate the villains and villanies this "country abounds in, I should never have done."* And again, from Fort Augustus: — "I am sorry "to leave this country in the condition it is in; "for all the good that we have done has been a "little blood-letting, which has only weakened the "madness but not at all cured it; and I tremble "for fear that this vile spot may still be the ruin "of this island and of our family."† The license of the soldiery was not curbed in Scotland till July, when His Royal Highness set out for Edinburgh, and from thence to London. Every where he was hailed, and not undeservedly, as the public deliverer; while the thanks of Parliament, the vote of 25,000*l.* a-year as a pension to himself and his heirs, and the freedom of numerous Companies greeted his return.

Some grants and honours might also well have rewarded President Forbes, who more than any other Scotsman of that period, had upheld and saved the King's cause. But his loyal zeal in the hour of danger was forgotten in the equal but less welcome zeal with which, after Culloden, the venerable judge ventured to plead for compassion. It is alleged that, on urging to the Duke the authority of the laws, he was answered, "What laws? I will "make a brigade give laws!" and he died soon afterwards, broken in spirit, and impoverished in estate, unable to obtain repayment of those very sums

* Letter, April 4, 1746. Coxe's Pelham.

† Letter, July 17, 1746. Ib.

which, when other resources failed in 1745, he had freely advanced for his country's service.*

Notwithstanding the eagerness with which, after Culloden, the rebels were tracked and pursued, and the guard both of land and sea, several of their chiefs succeeded, after various concealments, privations, and dangers, in effecting their escape. Lord George Murray made his way to Holland, where, under the name of De Valignié, he resided for the most part until his death in 1760. In another ship from France embarked the Duke of Perth, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and Mr. O'Sullivan; but the Duke, a young man of delicate frame, expired on his passage, and Sir Thomas Sheridan, going on to Rome, and being severely arraigned by the Pretender, for engaging in an expedition with such slight resources, was, it is said, so far affected by the reproof that he fell ill and died.† On the other hand the Government officers succeeded in seizing the Earl of Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerino, and Secretary Murray. Lovat was discovered in one of the wildest tracts of Inverness-shire, wrapt in a blanket, and hid in the hollow of an old tree, which grew upon an islet in the centre of a lake.‡ Lord Strathallan died of a wound at Culloden, and Tullibardine of disease and sorrow,

* Culloden Papers, Introduction, p. xxxvii. and Quarterly Review, No. xxviii. p. 329.

† Jacobite Memoirs, p. 4. note.

‡ Chambers' History, vol. ii. p. 170.

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when already immured in the Tower and awaiting his trial.

But where was he, the young and princely chief of this ill-fated enterprise — the new Charles of this second Worcester? His followers dismissed to seek safety as they could for themselves — he sometimes alone — sometimes with a single Highlander as his guide and companion — sometimes begirt with strange faces, of whose fidelity he had no assurance — a price set upon his head — hunted from mountain to island, and from island to mountain — pinched with famine, tossed by storms, and unsheltered from the rains — his strength wasted, but his spirit still unbroken — such was now the object of so many long cherished and lately towering hopes! In the five months of his weary wanderings — from April to September — almost every day might afford its own tale of hardship, danger, and alarm, and a mere outline must suffice for the general historian. It is much to Charles's honour, that as one of his chance attendants declares, "he used to say, that "the fatigues and distresses he underwent signified "nothing at all, because he was only a single person, "but when he reflected upon the many brave fellows "who suffered in his cause, that, he behoved to own, "did strike him to the heart, and did sink very deep "within him."* But most of all entitled to praise appear the common Highlanders around him. Though in the course of these five months the secrets of

* Narrative of Captain Malcolm Mac Leod, put in writing, August 17. 1747; Jacobite Memoirs, p. 476.

his concealment became intrusted to several hundred persons, most of them poor and lowly, not one of them was ever tempted by the prize of 30,000*l.* to break faith, and betray the suppliant fugitive; and when destitute of other help, and nearly, as it seemed, run to bay, he was saved by the generous self-devotion of a woman. CHAP. XXIX. 1746.

In the hope of finding a French ship to convey him, Charles had embarked, only eight days after Culloden, for that remote cluster of isles to which the common name of Long Island is applied. Driven from place to place by contrary winds and storms, and having sometimes no other food than oatmeal stirred with water, he at length gained South Uist, where his wants were in some degree relieved by the elder Clanranald. But his course being tracked or suspected, a large body of militia and regular troops, to the number of 2000 men, landed on the island, and commenced an eager search, while the shores were surrounded by small vessels of war. Concealment or escape seemed alike impossible, and so they must have proved but for Miss Flora Macdonald; a name, says Dr. Johnson, which will for ever live in history. This young lady was then on a visit to Clanranald's family, and was step-daughter of a Captain in the hostile militia which occupied the island. Being appealed to in Charles's behalf, she nobly undertook to save him at all hazards to herself. She obtained from her step-father a passport to proceed to Skye, for herself, a man-servant, and a maid, who was

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termed Betty Burke, the part of Betty to be played by the Chevalier. When Lady Clanranald and Flora sought him out, bringing with them a female dress, they found him alone in a little hut upon the shore, employed in roasting the heart of a sheep upon a wooden spit. They could not forbear from shedding tears at his desolate situation, but Charles observed, with a smile, that it would be well perhaps for all Kings if they had to pass through such an ordeal as he was now enduring. On the same evening he took advantage of the passport, embarking in his new attire with Flora and a faithful Highlander, Neil Mac Eachan, who acted as their servant. The dawn of the next day found them far at sea in their open boat, without any land in view; soon, however, the dark mountains of Skye rose on the horizon. Approaching that coast at Waternish, they were received with a volley of musketry from the soldiers stationed there, but none of the balls took effect, and the rowers, vigorously plying their oars, bore them away from that scene of danger, and enabled them to disembark on another point.

Charles was now in the country of Sir Alexander Macdonald, at first a waverer in the contest, but of late a decided foe. When the prudent chief saw the Jacobite cause decline, he had been induced to levy his clan against it, and was now on the mainland in attendance on the Duke of Cumberland. Yet it was of his wife, Lady Margaret, a daughter of the Earl of Eglinton, that Flora de-

termined to implore assistance, having no other resource, and knowing from herself the courageous pity of a female heart. Lady Margaret received the news with pain and surprise, but did not disappoint Flora's firm reliance; her own house was filled with militia officers, but she intrusted Charles, with earnest injunctions for his safety, to the charge of Macdonald of Kingsburgh, the kinsman and factor of her husband. As they walked to Kingsburgh's house, Charles still in woman's disguise, they had several streams to pass, and the Prince held up his petticoats so high as to excite the surprise and laughter of some country people on the road. Being admonished by his attendants he promised to take better care for the future, and accordingly in passing the next stream allowed the skirts to hang down and float upon the water. "Your enemies," said Kingsburgh, "call you a Pretender, but if you "be, I can tell you, you are the worst of your "trade I ever saw!" CHAP. XXIX. 1746.

Next day, at Portree, Charles took leave of the noble-minded Flora with warm expressions of his gratitude, and passed over to the isle of Rasay, under the less inconvenient disguise of a male servant and the name of Lewis Caw. His preservers soon afterwards paid the penalty of their compassion, both Kingsburgh and Flora Macdonald being arrested and conveyed in custody, the former to Edinburgh, the latter to London. The conduct of Lady Margaret likewise was much inveighed against at Court, but once, when it provoked some such cen-

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sure from the Princess of Wales: "And would "not you, Madam," asked Frederick, with a generous spirit, "would not you in like circumstances "have done the same? I hope—I am sure you "would!"* It was at the intercession, as is said, of His Royal Highness, that Flora was released from prison after a twelvemonth's confinement. A collection was made for her among the Jacobite ladies in London, to the amount of nearly 1500*l.* She then married Kingsburgh's son, and many years afterwards went with him to North America, but both returned during the civil war, and died in their native Isle of Skye.†

From Rasay Charles again made his way to the mainland, where he lay for two days cooped up within a line of sentinels, who crossed each other upon their posts, so that he could only crouch among the heather, without daring to light a fire, or to dress his food. From this new danger he at length

* Quarterly Review, No. xxviii. p. 330. In the Culloden Papers, p. 291. is an apologetic letter from Sir Alexander. He tells us that "the Pretender accosted Kingsburgh with telling "him, that his life was now in his hands, which he might dispose "of; that he was in the utmost distress, having had no meat or "sleep for two days and two nights, sitting on a rock, beat upon by "the rains, and, when they ceased, até up by flies, conjured him "to show compassion but for one night, and he should be gone. "This moving speech prevailed, and the visible distress, for he "was meagre, ill-coloured, and overrun with the scab; so they "went to Kingsburgh's house," &c.

† Tales of a Grandfather, vol. iii. p. 329., and Chambers' Hist. vol. ii. p. 221. She is described as "a little woman, of "a genteel appearance, and uncommonly mild and well-bred." (Boswell's Hebrides, p. 214. ed. 1785.)

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escaped by creeping at night down a narrow glen, the bed of a winter stream, between two of the stations. Another vicissitude in his wanderings brought him to a mountain cave, where seven robbers had taken their abode; and with these men he remained for nearly three weeks. Fierce and lawless as they were, they never thought for an instant of earning "the price of blood;" on the contrary, they most earnestly applied themselves to secure his safety, and supply his wants. Sometimes they used singly and in various disguises to repair to the neighbouring Fort Augustus, and obtain for Charles a newspaper, or the current reports of the day. On one occasion they brought back to the Prince, with much exultation, the choicest dainty they had ever heard of — a pennyworth of gingerbread!

On leaving these generous outlaws, and after other perils and adventures, Charles effected a junction with his faithful adherents, Cluny and Lochiel, who was lame from his wound. There he found a rude plenty to which he had long been unused. "Now, gentlemen, I live like a Prince!" cried he on his first arrival, as he eagerly devoured some collops out of a saucepan with a silver spoon.*

* Cluny's Narrative (Home's Appendix, p. 380.) There is a vague and romantic story about this time of one Mac Kenzie, lately an officer in the insurgent army, who being beset and killed by some soldiers, cried in his dying moments: "I am your "Prince," — his object being to afford a diversion for Charles's escape. It is added, that his head was cut off and passed for that of Charles, and was taken to London by the Duke of Cumberland in his own carriage, &c. This story is adopted

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For some time they resided in a singular retreat, called the Cage, on the side of Mount Benalder; it was concealed by a close thicket, and half suspended in the air. At this place Charles received intelligence that two French vessels, sent out expressly for his deliverance, under the direction of Colonel Warren of Dillon's regiment and with that officer on board, had anchored in Lochnanuagh. Immediately setting off for that place, but travelling only by night, he embarked on the 20th of September, attended by Lochiel, Colonel Roy Stuart, and about one hundred other persons, who had gathered at the news. It was the very same spot where Charles had landed fourteen months before, but how changed since that time, both his fate and his feelings! With what different emotions must he have gazed upon those desolate mountains, when stepping from his ship in the ardour of hope and coming victory; and now, when he saw them fade away in the blue distance, and bade them an everlasting farewell! Rapidly did his vessel bear him from the Scottish shores; concealed by a fog, he sailed through the midst of the English fleet; and he safely landed at the little port of Roscoff, near Morlaix, on the 29th of September.

He went—but not with him departed his remembrance from the Highlanders. For years and years

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both by Sir Walter Scott and Mr. Chambers, but on examination, I cannot find that it rests on any better authority than that of Chevalier Johnstone (Memoirs, p. 207.), and therefore I have no hesitation in rejecting it.

did his name continue enshrined in their hearts and familiar to their tongues; their plaintive ditties, resounding with his exploits, and inviting his return. Again, in these strains, do they declare themselves ready to risk life and fortune for his cause; and even maternal fondness, — the strongest perhaps of all human feelings, — yields to the passionate devotion to "Prince Charlie."*

On the rebellion being finally quelled, the punishment of its principal chiefs and instigators became the earnest desire of the people, and undoubtedly also the bounden duty of the government. With every sympathy for individual suffering — with every allowance for the fervour of mistaken loyalty†, or for the blindness of feudal obedience — still it must be owned, that a rebellion so daring, so long designed, and so nearly successful, called aloud for some avenging and repressive acts of justice. It may however well be questioned whether these acts were not carried further, both in number and in rigour, than necessity would warrant. A very judicious modern writer, while commenting on the executions in 1716, observes that there seems to have been "greater and less necessary severity "after the rebellion of 1745."† Yet, in general,

* "I ance had sons, but now hae nane,
"I bred them toiling sairly;
"And I wad bear them a' again,
"And lose them a' for Charlie!"
(*O'er the Water to Charlie*, No. 37. of Mr. Hogg's Second Series.)

† Hallam's Constit. Hist. vol. iii. p. 312.

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time effects a happy change in the opposite direction; and the aggravation in this case must certainly be ascribed to the Duke of Cumberland who, even after his return to London, continued, as we are told, to press "for the utmost severity." * The Scottish prisoners were removed for trial to England, lest their own countrymen should show them partiality or pity. At one time there were no less than 385 crowded together at Carlisle; of these however the common men were permitted to cast lots, one in twenty to be tried and hanged, the rest to be transported. There was no difficulty in obtaining proofs against individuals who had so openly appeared in arms. Amongst the earliest sufferers were Colonel Townley and eight other officers or privates of the Manchester regiment, who were hanged on Kennington Common near London. Other executions took place at York, at Brampton, and at Penrith; in all there were nearly eighty. The barbarous ceremony of unbowelling, mangling, and casting the hearts into a fire was not omitted, nor did it fail — such is the vulgar appetite for the horrible! — to draw forth exulting shouts from the spectators. Differing as the sufferers did in age, and rank, and temper, they yet, with scarcely an exception, agreed in their behaviour on the scaffold; all dying with firmness and courage, asserting the justice of their cause, and praying for the exiled family.

Amongst these numerous condemnations, the one perhaps of all others most open to exception,

* H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, August 1. 1746.

was that of Charles Radcliffe, brother of the Earl of Derwentwater, beheaded in 1716. Charles Radcliffe had then avoided a like fate by breaking from prison; he had lately been captured on board a French vessel bound for Scotland, with supplies for the insurgents; and he was now, after a long confinement, put to death upon his former sentence, which had slumbered for thirty years.

The noblemen who appeared for trial before their Peers in July, 1746, were the Earls of Cromarty and Kilmarnock, and Lord Balmerino. The two Earls pleaded guilty, expressing the deepest remorse for their conduct, while Balmerino endeavoured to avail himself of a flaw in the indictment, as not having been at Carlisle on the day it set forth; but this being overruled, he declared that he would give their Lordships no further trouble. On being brought up to receive sentence, both Cromarty and Kilmarnock earnestly sued for mercy. "My own fate," said Cromarty, "is the least part of "my sufferings. But, my Lords, I have involved "an affectionate wife with an unborn infant as "parties of my guilt to share its penalties. I have "involved my eldest son, whose youth and regard "for his parents hurried him down the stream of "rebellion. I have involved also eight innocent "children, who must feel their parent's punishment "before they know his guilt. Let the silent elo-"quence of their grief and tears supply my want "of persuasion!" — Kilmarnock urged, in extenuation of his own offence, the excellent principles he

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had instilled into his heir, "having my eldest son in "the Duke's army fighting for the liberties of his "country at Culloden, where his unhappy father "was in arms to destroy them!"—But no acknowledgment of error, no application for mercy could be wrung from the haughty soul of Balmerino. In compassion chiefly to Lady Cromarty, who was far advanced in pregnancy*, a pardon was granted to her husband, but the two others were ordered for execution on Tower Hill on the 18th of August. Kilmarnock met his fate with sufficient steadiness combined with penitence, owning to the last the heinousness of his rebellion. His companion in misfortune, on the contrary, as a frank resolute soldier, persevered and gloried in his principles. When at the gate of the Tower and on their way to the scaffold, the officers had ended the words of form with the usual prayer "God save King George!" Kilmarnock devoutly sighed "Amen;" but Balmerino stood up and replied in a loud voice, "God "save King James!" And as he laid his head on the block he said: "If I had a thousand lives, I "would lay them all down here in the same "cause!" †

The last of the "Martyrs," as their own party chose to call them, was Lord Lovat. Not having appeared in arms, nor committed any overt act of

* When her child was born after this dreadful suspense, it bore upon its neck the distinct impression of an axe. (Tales of a Grandfather, vol. iii. p. 310.)

† H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, August 21. 1746.

treason, this grey-haired hypocrite could not be so readily convicted as the bolder and better men who had walked before him to the scaffold. But a King's evidence was obtained in John Murray of Broughton, lately Prince Charles's Secretary, who now consented to purchase safety for himself by betraying the secrets and hazarding the lives of his former friends.* It was he who revealed to the Government the whole train and tissue of the Jacobite conspiracy since 1740, although, as the law requires two witnesses in charges of treason, it was not possible to proceed further against the Duke of Beaufort, Sir Watkin Wynn, or other English Jacobites; nor indeed did the Government show any wish for their impeachment. In the case of Lovat however, his own letters to the Chevalier were produced by Murray, other conclusive documents and some corroborating evidence from his clansmen were also brought forward, and his guilt was thus established in the clearest and most legal manner. His trial, which did not commence until March, 1747, continued during several days. Lovat's own behaviour was a stange compound of meanness, levity, and courage, — sometimes writing to the Duke of Cumberland for mercy, and pleading how he had carried his Royal Highness in his arms, when a child, about the parks of Kensington and

* Mr. Murray survived many years afterwards, residing chiefly in Scotland. In Lockhart's Life of Scott (vol i. p. 179.) is related a very curious scene between him and Sir Walter's father, showing the extreme abhorrence with which the unfortunate gentleman was still regarded.

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Hampton Court — sometimes striving by chicanery to perplex or rebut the proofs against him — sometimes indulging in ridiculous jests. "I did not "think it possible" says Horace Walpole "to feel "so little as I did at so melancholy a spectacle, "but tyranny and villainy wound up by buffoonery "took off all edge of compassion."* When after his sentence he was taken from the Bar, he cried, "Farewell, my Lords, we shall never all again "meet in the same place!"† Like Balmerino and Kilmarnock he was beheaded on Tower Hill; and he died with great composure and intrepidity, attended by a Roman Catholic priest, and repeating on the scaffold the noble line of Horace, DULCE ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI. — But in truth no man was ever less strongly imbued with that sentiment — except perhaps its writer!

A few weeks afterwards, there happily passed an Act of Indemnity, granting a pardon to all persons who had committed treason, but clogged with about eighty exceptions. By other legislative measures, passed with little opposition — the Disarming Act — the abolition of Heritable Jurisdictions — and the prohibition of the Highland garb — it was sought to precipitate the fall of feudal power, and to subdue the spirit of the vanquished mountaineers.

* To Sir H. Mann, March 20. 1747.

† This answer is transferred by Lord Byron, without acknowledgment, to his Israel Bertuccio. (Doge of Venice, Act 5. scene 1.)

## CHAPTER XXX.

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THE rebellion in Scotland and the consequent recall of the British troops from Flanders, left that country an easy conquest to the French. Marshal de Saxe, unexpectedly renewing his operations in the midst of winter, invested Brussels; on the 20th of February that important capital surrendered, and its large garrison became prisoners of war. Antwerp, Mons, and Charleroi followed in their turn. Even Namur, which had so long withstood the arms of King William, capitulated on the 19th of September, after a siege of only six days. Meanwhile the command of the allied army had been assumed by Prince Charles of Lorraine, and he had gradually received both British and Hanoverian reinforcements: but, on the 11th of October, he was repulsed in an engagement at Roucoux, near Liège; and, at the close of the campaign, the French were in possession of nearly the whole of the Austrian Netherlands.

But their successes on the Scheldt and Meuse were balanced by reverses on the Po. The Austrians, freed from their Prussian enemy by the

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peace of Dresden, had sent large reinforcements over the Alps; they recovered Parma, Guastalla, and Milan, and completely defeated the French and Spaniards at a battle near Placentia on the 17th of June. Pursuing their victory, they entered Genoa in September, and urged their preparations for an immediate invasion of Provence.*

Another event unfavourable to the Court of Versailles was the death of Philip the Fifth of Spain, on the 9th of July. His son and successor, Ferdinand the Sixth, felt but a slight interest in the establishment of Don Philip in Italy — the main object of the war in the preceding reign — and he accordingly pursued that war languidly, unwillingly, and with diminished forces. Thus France, deserted by Prussia and Bavaria, and faintly supported by Spain, had no longer any one efficient ally; and notwithstanding her conquests in Flanders, was not disinclined to peace on reasonable terms. Some conferences were opened at Breda, but from the high pretensions of England and of Austria at that time, led to no result.

In this summer the British Ministers dispatched an expedition to the coast of Brittany, the troops under General St. Clair, the fleet under Admiral Lestock. The object was to surprise Port L'Orient, and destroy the ships and stores of the French East India Company, but the result attained was only the plunder and burning of a few helpless villages.

* Muratori, Annal. d'Ital. vol. xii. p. 346. et seq.

Thus much only might be boasted, that the fleet and troops returned with little loss. "The truth is," says a contemporary, "Lestock was by this time "grown too old and infirm for enterprise, and, as is "alleged, was under the shameful direction of a "woman he carried along with him; and neither "the soldiers nor the sailors, during the whole of "the expedition, seem to have been under any "kind of discipline."*

At home the tranquillity of the Cabinet was slightly ruffled by the resignation of Lord Harrington. That minister—so lately the King's favourite—had incurred his Majesty's most serious displeasure by his courage in heading the seceders of February, 1746. In the same proportion—for common minds have only a certain stock of friendship or of enmity which is never increased or diminished, but only transferred from one person to another—had his Majesty's feelings relented towards Pitt and Chesterfield—to the former he began to show signs of esteem—of the latter he no longer opposed the admission into office. Thus, when Harrington, mortified at the King's antipathy, and feebly supported by the Duke of Newcastle, for whose sake he had exposed himself, gave up the Seals on the 29th of October, they were immediately intrusted to Chesterfield, while Chesterfield's appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was transferred to Harrington.†

* Tindal's Hist. vol. ix. p. 271.

† I must observe in justice to Newcastle, that though not sufficiently firm in supporting his friend in the Cabinet, he in-

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Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield, one of the most shining characters of his age, was born in 1694. His father — a man of morose and gloomy temper — appears from his earliest years to have conceived a coldness, nay, aversion to him.* But the parental place was in great measure supplied by his grandmother, the Marchioness of Halifax, who with great accomplishments combined an overflowing benevolence. At the age of eighteen young Stanhope was sent to complete his studies at Cambridge. According to his own account, many years afterwards, "at the "University I was an absolute pedant. When I "talked my best I quoted Horace; when I aimed "at being facetious, I quoted Martial; and when "I had a mind to be a fine gentleman, I talked "Ovid. I was convinced that none but the "ancients had common sense, that the classics "contained every thing that was either necessary, "useful, or ornamental, to men; and I was not "even without thoughts of wearing the TOGA VI-"RILIS of the Romans, instead of the vulgar and "illiberal dress of the moderns."† Yet there is reason to suspect that this was not the real fact with himself, but only an encouraging example

sisted on obtaining for him the Lord Lieutenancy, which the King was unwilling to grant. See Coxe's Pelham, vol. i. p. 343.

* See a letter, dated 1703, in Atterbury's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 24.

† Letter to his son, June 24. 1751.

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held forth to his son to show him how pedantry may be successfully surmounted. Certain it is, that the few letters preserved of Chesterfield, during his nonage, display wit, acuteness, and knowledge of the world. Thus, from Paris, in 1715, he writes satirically: "I shall not give you my opinion of the "French, because I am very often taken for one "of them; and several have paid me the highest "compliment they think it in their power to be-"stow; which is, 'Sir, you are just like our-"'selves!' I shall only tell you that I am inso-"lent; I talk a great deal; I am very loud and "peremptory; I sing and dance as I walk along; "and, above all, I spend an immense sum in hair-"powder, feathers, and white gloves!"* His correspondent, on this occasion, was M. Jouneau, a tedious old gentleman, of whose acquaintance he was evidently weary; but it is, I fear, in some degree characteristic of Chesterfield, that this, the very last letter he ever wrote to that person, contains the following expressions:—"You reproach "me, and not without cause, for not having written "to you since I came to Paris. I confess my "fault; I repent of it, and you will be convinced "of the sincerity of my repentance by the number "of letters with which I shall in future overwhelm "you. You will cry out for quarter, but in vain; "I shall punish you for not having known your "first happiness!"

Chesterfield had entered the House of Commons

* Chesterfield's Works, vol. iii. p. 17. 8vo ed.

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even before the legal age*; but allured by pleasures, into which he plunged with no common eagerness, he shrunk from the arduous labours of a statesman. It was not till the death of his father, in 1726, that he began in earnest to tread the thorny paths of ambition. Nature had endowed him with a brilliant and ready wit, which was sometimes the delight, sometimes the scourge, but always the wonder of his companions; and which shone alike in his most laboured writings, and his least premeditated sallies. His own care had formed manners, still proverbial for their excellence, and, in his own time, the model for the world of fashion; while attaining the highest degree of courtly polish, they had neither relaxed into insipidity, nor stiffened into superciliousness; but were animated and enlivened by a never-failing anxiety to please. As is acknowledged by himself—"Call it "vanity, if you will—and possibly it was so—but "my great object was to make every man I met like "me, and every woman love me. I often succeeded, "but why? By taking great pains." But these more superficial graces and accomplishments, were, it speedily appeared, supported by what alone can support them in public life; a large and solid fund of reading. "Nobody," says he to his son, "ever "lent themselves more than I did, when I was "young, to the pleasures and dissipation of good "company; I even did it too much. But then

* See vol. i. p. 196. † To his son, July 21. 1752.

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"I can assure you, that I always found time for "serious studies; and when I could find it no "other way, I took it out of my sleep; for I "resolved always to rise early in the morning, "however late I went to bed at night; and this "resolution I have kept so sacred that, unless "when I have been confined to my bed by illness, "I have not, for more than forty years, ever been in "bed at nine o'clock in the morning, but commonly "up before eight."*—"But," he adds, "throw "away none of your time upon those trivial futile "books published by idle or necessitous authors "for the amusement of idle and ignorant readers: "such sort of books swarm and buzz about one "every day; flap them away; they have no sting: "CERTUM PETE FINEM; have some one object for "your leisure moments, and pursue that object in-"variably till you have attained it."†—With Chesterfield that main object was oratory. "So long "ago as when I was at Cambridge, whenever I "read pieces of eloquence (and, indeed, they were "my chief study), whether ancient or modern, I "used to write down the shining passages, and "then translate them as well and as elegantly as "ever I could: if Latin or French, into English; "if English, into French. This, which I practised "for some years, not only improved and formed "my style, but imprinted in my mind and memory "the best thoughts of the best authors. The

* Letter, December 13. 1748. † Ibid. May 31. 1752.

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"trouble was little, but the advantage I have "experienced was great." * Whether from such studies, or from natural genius, Chesterfield's speeches became more highly admired and extolled than any others of the day. Horace Walpole had heard his own father; had heard Pitt; had heard Pulteney; had heard Windham; had heard Carteret; yet he declares, in 1743, that the finest speech he had ever listened to, was one from Chesterfield. †

The outset of Chesterfield in public employments was his first embassy to Holland, in which he displayed great skill, and attained universal reputation. Diplomacy was indeed peculiarly suited to his tastes and talents: he was equally remarkable for a quick insight into the temper of others, and for a constant command of his own: with foreign languages and history he had long been familiar: and public business, though at first strange and unwelcome, soon became easy, nay delightful to him. He writes to Lady Suffolk from the Hague: — "As you know, I used to be accused "in England, and I doubt pretty justly, of having "a need for such a proportion of talk in a day: "that is now changed into a need for such a pro- "portion of writing in a day." ‡

Chesterfield's second embassy to Holland, in 1744, confirmed and renewed the praises he had acquired by the first. So high did his reputation stand at

* Letter, February 1. 1754.

† To Sir H. Mann, December 15. 1743.

‡ To Lady Suffolk, August 13. 1728. Suffolk Letters, 1824.

this period, that Sir Watkin Wynn, though neither his partisan nor personal friend, once in the House of Commons reversed in his favour Clarendon's character of Hampden; saying that "Lord Chesterfield had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute, any worthy action."* At home his career, though never, as I think, inspired by a high and pervading patriotism, deserves the praise of humane, and liberal, and farsighted policy. Thus, after the rebellion, while all his colleagues thought only of measures of repression — the dungeon or the scaffold — disarming acts and abolition acts — we find that Chesterfield "was for schools and villages to civilise the Highlands."†

But, undoubtedly, the most brilliant and useful part of Chesterfield's career was his Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. It was he who first, since the Revolution, made that office a post of active exertion. Only a few years before, the Duke of Shrewsbury had given as a reason for accepting it, that it was a place where a man had business enough to hinder him from falling asleep, and not enough to keep him awake!‡ Chesterfield, on the contrary, left nothing undone, nor for others to do. Being once asked how he was able to go through so many affairs, he answered, "Because I never put off till to-morrow what I can do

* See Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 1054.

† Diary of Lord Marchmont, August 31. 1747.

‡ Marchmont Papers, vol. i. p. 91.

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"to-day."* Chesterfield was also the first to introduce at Dublin, — long as it had reigned in London, — the principle of impartial justice. It is no doubt much easier to rule Ireland on one exclusive principle or on another. It is very easy, as was formerly the case, to chuse the great Protestant families for "Managers;" to see only through their eyes, and to hear only through their ears: it is very easy, according to the modern fashion, to become the tool and champion of Roman Catholic agitators; but to hold the balance even between both; to protect the Establishment, yet never wound religious liberty; to repress the lawlessness, yet not chill the affections of that turbulent but warm-hearted people; to be the arbiter, not the slave of parties; this is the true object worthy that a statesman should strive for, and fit only for the ablest to attain! "I came determined," writes Chesterfield, many years afterwards, "to proscribe "no set of persons whatever; and determined to "be governed by none. Had the Papists made "any attempt to put themselves above the law, I "should have taken good care to have quelled them "again. It was said, that my lenity to the Papists "had wrought no alteration either in their religious "or their political sentiments. I did not expect that "it would: but surely that was no reason for cruelty "towards them."† Yet Chesterfield did not harshly

* Maty's Life, p. 255. From the Bishop of Waterford.

† Letter of Lord Chesterfield, preserved in the archives of Dublin Castle, and quoted by Lord Mulgrave in the debate in the House of Lords, November 27. 1837.

censure, even where he strongly disapproved; but often conveyed a keen reproof beneath a good-humoured jest. Thus, being informed by some exasperated zealots that his coachman was a Roman Catholic and went every Sunday to mass: "Does "he, indeed!" replied the Lord Lieutenant, "I will "take good care that he shall never drive me "there!" When he first arrived at Dublin, in the summer of 1745, a dangerous rebellion was bursting forth in the sister kingdom, and threatened to extend itself to a country where so many millions held the faith of the young Pretender. With a weak and wavering, or a fierce and headlong Lord Lieutenant; — with a Grafton or a Strafford — there might soon have been another Papist army at the Boyne. But so able were the measures of Chesterfield; so clearly did he impress upon the public mind that his moderation was not weakness, nor his clemency cowardice; but that, to quote his own expression, "his hand should be as heavy as Crom-"well's upon them if they once forced him to raise "it;" — so well did he know how to scare the timid, while conciliating the generous, that this alarming period passed over with a degree of tranquillity such as Ireland has not often displayed even in orderly and settled times. This just and wise — wise because just — administration, has not failed to reward him with its meed of fame; his authority, has, I find, been appealed to even by those who, as I conceive, depart most widely from his maxims; and his name, I am assured, lives in the honoured

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remembrance of the Irish people, as, perhaps, next to Ormond the best and worthiest in their long Viceregal line.

The biographer of Chesterfield, after portraying his character, in whatever points it can be praised, concludes, — "These were his excellencies; let "those who surpass him speak of his defects.* I shall not follow that example of prudent reserve. The defects of Chesterfield were neither slight nor few; and the more his contemporaries excused them — lost as they were in the lustre of his fame, — the less should they be passed over by posterity. A want of generosity; dissimulation carried beyond justifiable bounds; a passion for deep play; and a contempt for abstract science, whenever of no practical or immediate use; may, I think, not unjustly be ranked amongst his errors. But, at the root of all, lay a looseness of religious principle. For without imputing to him any participation in the unbelief which his friend Bolingbroke professed, it is yet certain that points of faith had struck no deep root into his mind, and exercised no steady control upon his conduct. The maxims laid down in his familiar correspondence, even when right themselves, seldom rest on higher motives than expediency, reputation, or personal advantage. His own glory, — the false flame that flits over these low grounds, — however brilliant and dazzling from afar, will be found to lack both the genuine glow of patriotism, and the kindling warmth of private

* Maty's Life, p. 357.

friendship. The country is to be served, not because it is our country, but inasmuch as our own welfare and reputation are involved in it: our friends are to be cherished, not as our inclination prompts, or their merits deserve, but according as they appear useful and conducive to the objects we pursue. PRODESSE QUAM CONSPICI was both the motto and the maxim of Somers; the very reverse, I fear, might sometimes be applied to Chesterfield.

During the administration of the new Secretary of State, his great oratorical abilities were seldom tried. The two Houses had now — dwindled, shall I say, or risen — into very pacific and business-like assemblies. Even the ill success of the war could not stir the quiet temper of the people; nor did the dissolution of Parliament, in the summer of 1747, add any thing to the strength of the Opposition. In most of the ensuing contests the friends of the ministry prevailed. It was with great difficulty that Sir John Hinde Cotton, now dismissed from office, could rally a remnant of the Jacobites; or that a small band of followers was retained by the Prince of Wales, aided by the councils of Bolingbroke and Dodington.* There was no want of vehemence at least, in his Royal Highness. "These ministers," says he, "have sullied the Crown

* Dodington — a true *Lord Glistonbury*, according to Miss Edgeworth's admirable sketch, — was eager only for a peerage. That object of his whole life was not attained till 1761, the year before he died.

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"and are very near to ruin all. Pray God they "have not a strong majority; or adieu to my "children, the constitution, and every thing that is "dear to me!" *

In this year, the progress of the war was marked by two naval victories of England; one by Admiral Anson, near Cape Finisterre; another by Admiral Hawke, off Belleisle: in each six French ships of the line were taken. But, on land, the campaigns proved inefficient in Italy, unprosperous in Flanders. So early as November, 1746, an Austrian army, under Marshal Brown, had invaded Provence, and bombarded Antibes; when they were startled at the news of a popular rising in their rear. The Genoese, it appeared, had, by a sudden effort, flung off the German yoke, and restored their republic to independence. Under these circumstances, the Austrians, in Provence, soon finding their communications intercepted, and themselves harassed by the French force of Marshal de Belleisle, hastened to recross the Var, and applied themselves to a long and desultory but fruitless blockade, of the insurgent city. The French, in their turn, attempted another invasion of Italy, but were checked in an action at the Pass of Exiles, in July, 1747; when the Chevalier, brother of the Marshal, de Belleisle, and nearly four thousand veteran soldiers, were among the slain.

* To Sir Thomas Bootle, June, 1747. Coxe's Pelham, Appendix, vol. i.

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On the side of the Netherlands, the Duke of Cumberland had been again entrusted with the command, and took the field in February; but found, as usual, the Dutch and Austrians grievously deficient in their stipulated quotas. With an ill-combined and murmuring army, his early movements served rather to harass his own troops than to injure or even alarm the enemy's. The Court of Versailles relied for success, not merely on their arms, but on the timid and wavering, the despised and despicable, government of Holland. Already had great advantages accrued to the French from their constant reluctance to engage directly and frankly in the war; and now it was hoped to terrify them into a separate negotiation. With this view, Louis the Fifteenth issued a formal manifesto on the 17th of March, suspending the conferences of Breda; and the French minister at the Hague was instructed to announce that, as the Dutch had formerly sent twenty thousand of their troops over the frontier of Lille, without declaring war; so the King of France would now send an equal force into their territories, not as declaring war, but to counteract the ill effects of the assistance which they had afforded to the Queen of Hungary. On the same day, the army of Marshal de Saxe was put in motion, and the vanguard of twenty thousand men, headed by Count Löwendahl, burst into Dutch Flanders, and reduced the frontier fortresses Sluys, Sas van Ghent, and Hulst.

The danger of 1672 now appeared renewed to

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Holland; but, with precisely the same effect. As in 1672, it stirred and roused, instead of intimidating, that brave people. Far from yielding, as the enemy expected, they raised a cry of treachery against their timid magistrates, as the friends and abettors of France, and turned for help to their never-failing deliverers in peril, the House of Orange. As in 1672, the head of that House was proclaimed Stadtholder by almost universal acclamation. The revolution commenced in Zealand; but rapidly spreading from province to province, was achieved and completed within a few days. Even at the Hague, the magistrates, surrounded by an immense and raging multitude, and timid for themselves as they had been for the state, could only purchase their own safety by waving the Orange standard, a symbol of their recognition, from the palace windows.* Prince William of Nassau was acknowledged as Stadtholder, Captain General, and Lord High Admiral, with the same extended powers which had been enjoyed by his kinsman and namesake, William the Third, and which had lain dormant since his death. Nay, more, he was enabled, some time afterwards, to guard against a similar lapse in future, by a law rendering these dignities hereditary to his children; and thus changing the constitution to a limited monarchy in fact, though not, as yet, in name.

The fall of the old decrepit government, and the accession of a young and popular prince, son-in-

* Siècle de Louis XV. ch. xxiii.

law of the King of England, seemed a happy omen for the vigorous prosecution of the war. There did, indeed, ensue no small accession of administrative energy, and of military means. Unfortunately, however, when the Prince of Orange took the field at the head of the Dutch army, he was found ignorant of tactics, and jealous of his more practised, but not less overbearing brother, the Duke of Cumberland. According to Mr. Pelham, "Our "two young heroes agree but little. Our own is "open, frank, resolute, and perhaps hasty; the "other assuming, pedantic, ratiocinating, and tena- "cious.... In what a situation then are we! We "must pray for the best, for direct it we cannot. "..... We have nothing to do, but to make "up the present quarrels, get a little breathing "time; and then, perhaps, some people may come "to their senses, or some senses may come to "them." *

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It was this disunion in the allied army that caused it a check on the 2d of July, at the village of Lauffeld, in front of Maestricht. The Dutch, in the centre, gave way and fled; the Austrians, on the right, under Marshal Bathiany, would not move from their fortified position; so that the entire brunt of the battle fell upon the British, on the left. Assailed by the whole French army, which was animated by the presence of Louis, and directed by the genius of De Saxe, the Duke of Cumberland could not long maintain his ground:

* To Mr. Walpole, August 14. 1747.

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he effected his retreat, however, in good order, leading the troops to a new and strong position behind the Meuse. They lost four standards; but, notwithstanding their repulse, they captured six. The number of killed and wounded, on both sides, was great, and nearly equal. Marshal de Saxe afterwards owned, that his victory had cost him no less than 8000 foot and 1000 horse.* "The "great misfortune of our position," writes the Duke of Cumberland, "was, that our right wing "was so strongly posted, that they could neither "be attacked nor make a diversion; for I am as- "sured that Marshal Bathiany would have done "all in his power to sustain me, or attack the "enemy."† Both commanders showed high personal gallantry in the foremost ranks; the Marshal being once nearly taken prisoner; and the Duke also once mixed with a squadron of French horse. The English horse suffered severely from their own ardour: they broke at first whatever stood before them; but hurrying on too far, were outflanked by columns of foot, when their body was with great slaughter repulsed, and their chief, Sir John Ligonier, taken. The King of France gave a favourable reception to that officer, who had been his subject by birth, but alienated from his country by the fanatic persecution of the Protestants. "Would it not be better," said Louis,

* Sir Everard Fawkener, Military Secretary, to Sir Thomas Robinson, July 16. 1747.

† Despatch to the Earl of Chesterfield, July 3. 1747.

" to think seriously of peace, instead of beholding " the destruction of so many brave troops?" * CHAP. XXX. 1747.

Pursuing his success, the French commander detached Count Löwendahl, who, at the head of 30,000 men, rapidly traversed Brabant, and unexpectedly invested Berg-op-Zoom. This fortress, the key of Holland on that side, and the masterpiece of the celebrated Cohorn, was, besides its strong works and its numerous garrison, connected with an intrenched camp which 12,000 troops defended. Although the trenches were opened in the middle of July, it was not till the beginning of September that breaches, and those only slight ones, were effected in the walls; but the governor, Baron Cronstrom, a veteran of fourscore, unfortunately relied so much on the strength of the place as to neglect the usual precautions for security; and thus Berg-op-Zoom was taken by surprise on the 15th of September, with very slight resistance from the garrison. This disaster closed the campaign, the French reserving the siege of Maestricht for the opening of the next, and taking up

* Siècle de Louis XV. ch. xxvi. Voltaire charitably hints that Ligonier might have been put to death by way of reprisal. " Des " Ecossais, officiers au service de France, avaient péri par le " dernier supplice en Angleterre dans l'infortune du Prince " Charles Edouard." — It is said that Ligonier, when surrounded in the battle, endeavoured for some time to pass for one of the enemy's officers, and even led the French troops with great alertness to an attack, in the hope of effecting his escape, but, unfortunately, the order of the Bath being observed under his coat, he was recognised and secured. See Coxe's Pelham, vol. i. p. 360.

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quarters in their new conquests; while the English and Dutch occupied the neighbourhood of Breda. It is difficult to describe what melancholy apprehensions then prevailed in the British counsels. Mr. Pelham writes to the Duke of Cumberland:—

"We are told every day to exert, to arm, and to "augment. The advice, Sir, is certainly good; "but are we not almost brought to the necessity "of answering, as King William said to the man "who advised him to change hands,—'Tell Wynd-"'ham to change hands,' who had but one? Is "not our case, Sir, near to that? Have we not "gone almost as far as we are able? Are there "many more troops to be had? The Russians, "the King has ordered (to the number of 30,000) "to be taken into our pay, if they will come. To "the Danes intimations are given also; but is "there the least reason to think His Majesty will "be successful in that generous attempt? And, "last of all, in case he should succeed, what will "they cost? and how shall we get the money?"*

Happily, however, the French were not less inclined for peace, and availed themselves of Ligonier's captivity as an opening towards it. After a few vague remarks from Louis, De Saxe had several confidential discourses with Sir John. The Marshal said that the King, his master, did not love war;—that he, the Marshal, as little desired

* Letter, September 8. 1747. O. S., written on the news of the taking of Berg-op-Zoom.

to continue it; — that the whole French nation hated him; — that were he to meet with one misfortune, the King himself could not protect him; — that he had already all the honour he wished for, and all the rewards for his services that he could ask, or the King grant; — that, in this situation, broken as he was also in his health, he could not but feel eager for a peace, — and that he knew his master did likewise. He, at last, proceeded to tell Ligonier, that the King of France desired he would return to the Duke of Cumberland, and assure His Royal Highness, in his name, of his wish to put an end to the war; — that he thought this object would be best attained by themselves at the head of their respective armies; — that he knew the honour of the Duke too well to imagine he would engage any thing without his Allies; — but that, as the two armies would soon withdraw to winter-quarters, there would be time for His Royal Highness to receive the opinion of those Allies; — and that he doubted not but they would have the wisdom to trust their interests to His Royal Highness's hands. "As to the King of "France," De Saxe added, "he looks to nothing "for himself; he is willing to restore all Flanders, "as it now is, except Furnes, which he expects "to keep, if you insist on the total demolition "of Dunkirk; but if you will let that harbour "remain as it is, he will then desire nothing but "the restitution of Cape Breton." Even this restitution was only proposed as an exchange for

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Madras, which the French had lately succeeded in wresting from the English. "Genoa," continued the French Marshal, "ought to be restored, if taken, "to the Republic, and the Duke of Modena rein-"stated in his own dominions; and Spain must, "for the honour of France, be included and con-"sidered." All other details were skilfully passed over as easy of adjustment. *

These unexpected overtures produced much pleasure, but some perplexity, in England. The Duke of Cumberland, who transmitted them, was eager to retain in his own hands the honour of negotiation, and the King showed no less anxiety to gratify his favourite son; while, on the other hand, the Ministers trembled at his well-known violence of temper, and total inexperience in diplomatic affairs. It was apprehended that the secret object of France might perhaps be only to sow jealousies amongst the Allies, or to inveigle the hasty Duke into the signature of rash and ill-judged preliminaries. At length the Ministers consented to entrust the nominal negotiation to His Royal Highness; but prevailed upon the King that the Earl of Sandwich, already employed as plenipotentiary in the Breda conferences, should be sent to head-quarters as the assistant (the Court phrase for director) of the Duke. Sandwich accordingly hastened over to Holland, and had a secret interview at Liege with the Marquis de Puisieulx, the French Minister of foreign affairs. Nothing was

* Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole, July 30. 1747.

decided between them as to the terms of a peace, but it was agreed to take the negotiation from military hands, and refer it to a Congress to be held at Aix La Chapelle.

It soon appeared, however, that the wishes of the Allies for peace were not sincere or not lasting. The Empress Queen, irritated at the conduct of the French, in commencing and urging the war, was not willing to close it without some signal triumph, or solid advantage, over them. The Prince of Orange and Duke of Cumberland, much as they differed on other points, agreed in a thirst of military fame, and a consequent desire of further military operations. George the Second was anxious, at this period, to conciliate the head of the Empire; and for this, and his other petty German objects, coveted either exorbitant terms of peace, or an indefinite prolongation of war. Thus, therefore, though the first overtures of France had been readily welcomed, amidst the dejection of military failures and reverses, they were not cordially pursued. The measures to assemble the intended Congress were so slow and dilatory, on the part of the Allies, that the plenipotentiaries could not meet before the ensuing year; while, on the other hand, their preparations for the next campaign were urged forward with unwonted activity and ardour. It plainly appeared that their secret object was to delay the negotiation until it might proceed conjointly with the military movements, and until the brilliant successes, which they

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foolishly anticipated, should enable them to dictate whatever terms they pleased.

In the British Cabinet, the prudence of Mr. Pelham, which induced him to sigh for peace, was always counteracted, and, in general, overpowered, by another more selfish prudence, that watched and trembled at the first symptoms of Royal displeasure. The Duke of Newcastle, eager at all hazards to retrieve his own favour with the King, and incapable of any more long-sighted views, became a decided partisan and promoter of the war, and most frequently drew his reluctant brother in his train. To the Pelhams, nearly all the other Ministers — selected, in general, for their subservience — tamely bowed; but not so the Earl of Chesterfield. From the first moment of his admission into the Cabinet, he had made peace the main object of his care; he now urged the pressing necessity, and the excellent opening, for it, with an eagerness that began to alienate his sovereign, and to embroil him with his colleagues. It was with great difficulty that, when Parliament met in October, the discordant Ministers could concur in any expressions for the Royal Speech. Lord Marchmont, who was then in London, and familiar with many of the leading statesmen, relates in his Diary, — "Lord "Chesterfield told me there was as yet no speech; "that they had put it to the Chancellor, who had "desired to know what he was to say; that he saw "he could not please them all three, the Duke of "Newcastle, Lord Chesterfield, and Mr. Pelham;

" and therefore desired hints, which as yet were not " given him. . . . . That Mr. Pelham and the Duke " now conversed only through Mr. Stone, being " apt to fall into a passion when they conversed " together; that they would surely break, if " Mr. Pelham did not think it would be the ruin of " them both; that Mr. Pelham's only concern was, " that he might not be personally attacked in the " House of Commons; and that, provided he " was not made the object there, he was easy. " For this end, Pitt, and the Lyttletons, and Gren- " villes, must have every thing they asked; and now " held half the places in the King's gift; and then " the old set, who hated these, came and asked when " there would be no more Lyttletons and Grenvilles " to be pleased, that they might have room for some- " thing! Lord Chesterfield added, that Mr. Pelham " had the same opinion of the Duke that we had; " and that the King had a most mortal hatred to " him, worse than to any man in his dominions." *

The project of Chesterfield, in entering the Cabinet, had been to govern George the Second through Lady Yarmouth, as he once had hoped through Lady Suffolk.† Over the one lady, as formerly over

* Lord Marchmont's Diary, October 27. 1747.

† " Lord Chesterfield, who was as much for peace as Lord " Harrington, aimed at superior, if not supreme power, with the " King. In the means he succeeded fully, having gained Lady " Yarmouth's good will, and had all the help she can give, most " cordially. In the end, he failed entirely; having brought His " Majesty to no more than civility, familiarity, and, perhaps, " liking to his conversation." Mr. Fox to Sir C. H. Williams,

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1747. the other, his insinuating manners gained him an entire control; but, in neither case, did the King allow political power to the mistress. The assiduities of Chesterfield, therefore, served rather to rouse the watchful jealousy of Newcastle, than to secure his own ascendant. In his great public object, the peace, he could make no progress. In his more personal requests, he found himself no less thwarted by his colleagues, who had formed, as he says, a settled resolution, that no person should be promoted through his influence. This last question he brought to an issue, in the case of his cousin Colonel George Stanhope, youngest son of the late Prime Minister, an officer of merit, who had distinguished himself both at Dettingen, and at Culloden. For him Chesterfield solicited a regiment; but, though His Majesty gave away five in succession, the name of Stanhope was always omitted.* Under these circumstances, "what must the world think," said he, "but that I continue in for the sake of 5000*l.* a

1748. "year?" † and, in January, 1748, he formed the resolution to resign. As he writes to his confidential friend at the Hague: — "Could I do any "good I would sacrifice some more quiet to it; "but, convinced as I am that I can do none, I

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February 17. 1748. Though no friend to Chesterfield, Fox goes on to admit that "his Lordship's province was most offensively "encroached upon" by Newcastle and Sandwich.

* Lord Marchmont's Diary, October 27. 1747; and February 5. 1748. H. Fox to Sir C. H. Williams, February 17. 1748.

† Lord Marchmont's Diary, December 24. 1747.

" will indulge my ease, and preserve my character. " I have gone through pleasures while my con- " stitution and my spirits would allow me. Busi- " ness succeeded them, and I have now gone " through every part of it, without liking it at " all the better for being acquainted with it. Like " many other things, it is most admired by those " who know it the least. . . . . I have been be- " hind the scenes both of pleasure and of business; " I have seen all the coarse pulleys and dirty ropes " which exhibit and move all the gaudy machines; " and I have seen and smelt the tallow-candles which " illuminate the whole decoration, to the astonish- " ment and admiration of the ignorant multitude. " . . . . Far from engaging in opposition, as resign- " ing ministers too commonly do, I shall, to the " utmost of my power, support the King and his " Government; which I can do with more advan- " tage to them and more honour to myself when " I do not receive 5000*l.* a year for doing it. . . . . " My horse, my books, and my friends, will divide " my time pretty equally; I shall not keep less " company, but only better, for I shall chuse it." *

The first step of Chesterfield towards resignation was to draw up an able memorial, setting forth the dangers of the war, and the necessity of taking serious measures to close it; and finding that he could engage but one of his colleagues to concur in these opinions, he, on the 6th

* Lord Chesterfield to Mr. Dayrolles, January 26., February 9., February 23. 1748.

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of February waited upon his Royal master, and gave up the Seals. The King expressed, in strong terms, value for his services, and regret at his departure; hoped that he would not engage in opposition; and offered to grant him a signal mark of his satisfaction by the title of Duke.* This, however, Lord Chesterfield respectfully declined. He withdrew for the remainder of his years to private, or, at least, unofficial life; but still taking, when his health allowed, a prominent part in the House of Lords. In 1751, he had the honour to propose and carry a long required improvement, — the Reformation of the Calendar, — assisted by two most able mathematicians in the House and out of it, the Earl of Macclesfield and Mr. Bradley. The error of the old Calendar was gross, increasing, and avowed; yet so strongly upheld by popular prejudice, that many statesmen shrunk from its correction. Chesterfield tells us that, when he gave the Duke of Newcastle, as Secretary of State, previous notice of his design, His Grace "was alarmed at so bold an undertaking, "and entreated me not to stir matters that had "been long quiet; adding, that he did not love "new-fangled things! I did not, however, yield "to the cogency of these arguments, but brought "in the bill, and it passed unanimously."† It was also the endeavour of Chesterfield, by writing in some periodical papers of the day, to prepare the minds of the people for the change; yet their

* Maty's Life, p. 303. † Lord Chesterfield's Characters.

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resentment was both deep and lasting. When, in 1754, Lord Macclesfield's eldest son stood a great contested election in Oxfordshire, one of the most vehement cries raised against him was, "Give "us back the eleven days we have been robbed "of!" And even several years later, when Mr. Bradley, worn down by his labours in the cause of science, was sinking under mortal disease, many of the common people ascribed his sufferings to a judgment from Heaven, for having taken part in that "impious undertaking!"*

The pursuits of Chesterfield, in his retirement, were not, however, all praiseworthy, or even harmless. While in office, either in Ireland or England, he had scrupulously forborne from touching a card; but the passion remained; and, on the very evening of his resignation, he went to White's, and resumed his former habits of deep play.†

It may, perhaps, be doubted, notwithstanding the philosophy with which Chesterfield affected to speak of office and ambition, whether he would have permanently persevered in his renouncement of them; but, in 1752, he was attacked with an ailment equally baneful to the honours of public, and to the enjoyments of private life — the loss of hearing. Amidst his mortification at this infirmity he could still allude to it with his usual lively flow of wit. "In spite of my strong hereditary right to "deafness, how willingly would I part with it to

* See Bradley's Works and Correspondence, p. lxxxi. ed. 1832.

† Maty's Life, p. 307.

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"any minister to whom hearing is often disagreeable; or to any fine woman, to whom it is often dangerous..... I have tried a thousand infallible remedies, but all without success!.... But I comfort myself with the reflection that I did not lose the power, till after I had very near lost the desire, of hearing!" * — But he clearly understood his altered situation. "Retirement was my choice seven years ago; it is now become my necessary refuge. Public life and I are parted for ever." † And accordingly, in 1757, he wisely forbore from profiting by a most brilliant avenue to power, which opened before him, as the mediator between contending parties. ‡

Chesterfield had no children by his marriage; but an illegitimate son, born in 1732, had, even in his busiest moments, engaged no small portion of his thoughts and time. The education of that boy — his proficiency in classic, and still more in worldly, knowledge — and his consequent success in public life — was always Chesterfield's favourite, and grew, at last, his only, object. But his anxious admonitions and exertions were by no means crowned with success. Philip Stanhope became a man of deep learning and sound sense; but utterly wanting in what his father so highly prized

* Letters to Mr. Dayrolles, April 17., May 19., June 30. 1752. The deafness of Chesterfield forms the groundwork for one of Voltaire's prose tales, *Les Oreilles du Comte de Chesterfield.*

† To Mr. Dayrolles, May 2. 1755.

‡ See Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 110.

— the graces. His advancement in the world was owing far more to his father's influence than to his own abilities; he failed as a parliamentary speaker; and had risen no higher in diplomacy than Envoy to Dresden, when he died, in 1768. CHAP. XXX. 1748.

From this period, the old age of Chesterfield, until his own death, in 1773, was desolate and cheerless. He adopted his youthful godson and next heir to the Earldom; whom he found, however, uncongenial in temper, and little inclined to follow his advice. Accordingly, though bequeathing his estates to his successor, he carefully guarded them against waste or dilapidation from horse-races, which he had always contemned, or from his own vice — now too late repented of — high play. His will declares, "In case my said godson, Philip Stan- "hope, shall, at any time hereinafter, keep, or be "concerned in keeping of, any race-horses, or pack "of hounds; or reside one night at Newmarket, "that infamous seminary of iniquity and ill-man- "ners, during the course of the races there; or "shall resort to the said races; or shall lose, in "any one day, at any game or bet whatsoever, the "sum of 500*l.*; then, in any of the cases aforesaid, "it is my express will that he, my said godson, "shall forfeit and pay, out of my estate, the sum "of 5000*l.*, to and for the use of the Dean and "Chapter of Westminster." * This last sentence comprises a lively touch of satire. The Earl had

* Earl of Chesterfield's will, dated June 4. 1772.

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found, or believed that he found, the Chapter of Westminster of that day exorbitant and grasping in their negotiation with him of land for the building of Chesterfield House; and he declared that he now inserted their names in his will, because he felt sure that if the penalty should be incurred, they would not be remiss in claiming it.

It had appeared, on the death of Chesterfield's son, that he had secretly married, without his father's consent, or even knowledge: and the widow, upon Chesterfield's own demise, published, for profit, the whole correspondence of the Earl with her late husband; a correspondence written in the closest confidence and unreserve, and without the slightest idea of ever meeting the public eye. It is, however, by these letters that Chesterfield's character, as an author, must stand or fall. Viewed as compositions, they appear almost unrivalled as models for a serious epistolary style; clear, elegant, and terse, never straining at effect, and yet never hurried into carelessness. While constantly urging the same topics, so great is their variety of argument and illustration, that, in one sense, they appear always different, in another sense, always the same. They have, however incurred strong reprehension on two separate grounds; first, because some of their maxims are repugnant to good morals; and, secondly, as insisting too much on manners and graces, instead of more solid acquirements. On the first charge, I have no defence to offer; but the second is certainly erroneous, and arises only from the idea and expectation of finding a general system of edu-

cation in letters that were intended solely for the improvement of one man. Young Stanhope was sufficiently inclined to study, and embued with knowledge; the difficulty lay in his awkward address and indifference to pleasing. It is against these faults, therefore, and these faults only, that Chesterfield points his battery of eloquence. Had he found his son, on the contrary, a graceful but superficial trifler, his letters would, no doubt, have urged, with equal zeal, how vain are all accomplishments, when not supported by sterling information. In one word, he intended to write for Mr. Philip Stanhope, and not for any other person. And yet, even after this great deduction from general utility, it was still the opinion of a most eminent man, no friend of Chesterfield, and no proficient in the graces — the opinion of Dr. Johnson, "Take out the im- "morality, and the book should be put into the "hands of every young gentleman."*

I now revert to Chesterfield's retirement from office. It was Newcastle's desire that the vacant post might be filled by Lord Sandwich; but a superior cabal in the Cabinet bestowed it upon the Duke of Bedford, a cold-hearted hot-headed man; more distinguished by rank and fortune than by either talent or virtue. Sandwich, however, succeeded Bedford as head of the Admiralty, and was likewise despatched as plenipotentiary to Aix la Chapelle, where the Congress did not open until the 11th of March. At nearly the same season, commenced

* Boswell's Life, 1776, vol. iii. p. 34. ed. 1818.

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the campaign. But the war party in England, which had hoped to win brilliant successes, and to dictate triumphant terms, found its reliance on the new Dutch promises altogether deceived. Their stipulated contingents never appeared in the field; and so far from supplying the sums they had undertaken, they sent to London, at this very moment, to solicit the loan of one million sterling.* Meanwhile the British resources were already drained and exhausted by our own demands. We learn that "money was never so scarce in the City, nor the "stocks so low, even during the rebellion, as now; "12 per cent. is offered for money, and even that "will not do!" †

To add to these discouragements, Marshal de Saxe proved himself as superior in skill, as he was in numbers, to the Duke of Cumberland. Completely deceiving His Royal Highness by some false demonstrations against Breda, he suddenly concentrated his forces before Maestricht, which he invested on the 3d of April. The Austrians were driven back to Ruremond, with the loss of their magazines; the Russian auxiliaries still lingered on their march through Franconia; and the Dutch and English combined were far too weak for offensive operations. Under these circumstances, the fall of Maestricht appeared certain, and the invasion of Holland probable.

Thus pressed, and yielding to necessity, the

* Duke of Bedford to Mr. Pelham, February 27. 1748. Coxe's Pelham.

† Lord Chesterfield to Mr. Dayrolles, March 22. 1748.

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British Ministers determined to close, even with far less favourable terms than they might lately have obtained. The views of Pelham had always been pacific, and he now gathered spirit to enforce them. Newcastle himself, who had promoted the war, not from honest conviction, but rather from jealousy of Chesterfield, having prevailed over his rival, was no longer disinclined to peace. In April, accordingly, His Grace wrote to Lord Sandwich, declaring that the King, unable either to check the progress of the French army, or to reconcile the discordant pretensions of his own Allies, had resolved, without the concurrence of the other powers, to accept the conditions which France was disposed to grant. Sandwich was, therefore, instructed, to conclude a preliminary treaty, combined with a cessation of arms, especially in the Netherlands; to communicate the treaty to the plenipotentiaries of the Allies, and endeavour to obtain their concurrence; but if they refused it, to sign without them.*

In these instructions, the Dutch Government, swayed at this period by the British, and by their own sense of danger, fully concurred. Count Bentinck, accordingly, on their part, as Lord Sandwich on the part of England, pursued the negotiation with Count St. Severin, the plenipotentiary of France; who, however, feeling his vantage-ground,

* Duke of Newcastle to the Earl of Sandwich, April 8. 1748. O.S.

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availed himself of it.* He also hastened the result by threatening that the slightest delay in the negotiation, would be a signal for the French to destroy the fortifications of Ypres, Namur, and Berg-op-Zoom, and to commence the invasion of Holland. The Ministers of the other powers peremptorily refused to join; but late at night of the 30th of April, New Style, the preliminaries were finally adjusted and signed by the English, Dutch, and French plenipotentiaries. The following were the principal articles:

The renewal of all former treaties, except in such points as were specifically changed.

The mutual restitution of all conquests in every part of the world.

Dunkirk to remain fortified towards the land in its actual condition, and towards the sea on the footing of ancient treaties; in other words, the works on that side to be demolished.

The Duchies of Parma and Guastalla and Placentia to be assigned to the Infant Don Philip; but, in case he should either die without issue, or succeed to the throne of Naples, Parma and Guastalla to revert to the House of Austria, and Placentia to the King of Sardinia.

The Duke of Modena, and the Republic of Genoa, to be reinstated in their former territories, comprising the restitution of Finale.

* "M.St. Severin, in the whole course of the negotiation, knew "his superiority, and made use of it; and I am very apprehensive "that some way or other, from the Hague, he must have known "the substance of my instructions." Lord Sandwich to the Duke of Newcastle, May 1. 1748.

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The cessions made to the King of Sardinia, by the treaty of Worms, to be confirmed, with the exception of Placentia and Finale.

The Asiento treaty to be revived for four years, the period of its suspension during the war.

The articles in the treaty of 1718, on the guarantee of the Protestant succession, and the exclusion from France of the Pretender and his family, to be confirmed and executed.

The Emperor to be acknowledged by France in his Imperial dignity, and the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction to be renewed.

The Duchy of Silesia and the County of Glatz to be guaranteed to the King of Prussia.

With these preliminaries was also signed, an act for the suspension of hostilities.

Never, perhaps, did any war, after so many great events, and so large a loss of blood and treasure, end in replacing the nations engaged in it so nearly in the same situation as they held at first. Yet, notwithstanding the exhausted state of the British finances, and the depression wrought by the disasters in the Netherlands, these terms—especially the restitution of Cape Breton—were far from popular in England.* The ministers, however, might well congratulate themselves on escaping so easily from the results of their own rashness. When the King found peace unavoidable on less advantageous conditions than he had lately shrunk from, he testily observed, "Chester-

* Tindal's Hist. vol. ix. p. 361.

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"field told me six months ago, that it would be "so;" and the Earl himself could not refrain from boasting, how his predictions were fulfilled. "I am "heartily glad," he writes, "that the peace is "made. I was for making it sooner, and conse- "quently better. I foresaw and foretold our weak- "ness this campaign, and would have prevented "by a timely negotiation, last October, those evi- "dent dangers to which it must necessarily expose "us, and which we have escaped more by our good "fortune than our wisdom. I may add, that my "resignation made this peace, as it opened people's "eyes as to the dangers of the war. The Republic "is saved by it from utter ruin, and England from "bankruptcy."*

At the same time, however, indignation and resentment prevailed at the Courts of Turin and of Vienna. The King of Sardinia could ill brook the alienation of Placentia and Finale; and the Empress Queen, in spite of every representation from Sir Thomas Robinson, not only refused to concur in the preliminaries†, but publicly protested against them. The whole summer was consumed before these obstacles could be surmounted; but the negotiations at Aix were still conducted by Lord Sandwich, and he received directions, partly from Mr.

* To Mr. Dayrolles, May 13. 1748.

† Her Majesty's passionate exclamations at the news — "I "am neither a child nor a fool! .... Good God! how have I "been used! ... There is *your* King of Prussia! ... No, "no, I will rather lose my head;" &c. — may be seen from Robinson's dispatches in Coxe's House of Austria, vol. iii. p. 353.

Pelham and the Government in London, and partly from the King and the Duke of Newcastle, who had repaired to Hanover. At length, after a tangled web of most wearisome discussions, a definitive treaty was signed in October by all the belligerent powers. This peace confirmed and established the terms of the preliminaries,—but it contained no stipulation on the first cause of the war, the commercial claims of England upon Spain—and it was clogged with a clause most unwelcome to the British pride—that hostages should be given to France for the restitution of Cape Breton. Two noblemen of distinguished rank, the Earl of Sussex and Lord Cathcart, were accordingly selected for this purpose and sent to Paris. At the news of their arrival, Prince Charles, it is said, displayed the highest indignation, and exclaimed with more of patriotism, than of prudence: "If ever I mount the throne "of my Ancestors, Europe shall see me use my "utmost endeavours to force France in her turn "to send hostages to England!" * CHAP. XXX. 1748.

The definitive treaty being thus concluded, it became necessary for France to fulfil its engagement with regard to the expulsion of the young Pretender.—On his return from Scotland, Charles had been favourably received by Louis; a burst of applause had signalised his first appearance at the opera; and he found that both by King and people his exploits were admired, and his sufferings deplored. For some of his most faithful followers, as Lochiel

* Lockhart papers, vol. ii. p. 578.

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and Lord Ogilvie, he had obtained commissions in the French service, and a pension of 40,000 livres yearly had been granted him for the relief of the rest; but when he applied for military succours —urging that a new expedition should be fitted out and placed at his disposal—he found the Court of Versailles turn a deaf ear to his demands. Once, indeed, it was hinted to him by Cardinal Tencin, that the ministers might not be disinclined to meet his views, provided, in case of his success, the kingdom of Ireland should be yielded as a province to the Crown of France. But the high spirit of Charles could ill brook this degrading offer. Scarcely had Tencin concluded, when the Prince, starting from his seat and passionately pacing the room, cried out, NON MONSIEUR LE CARDINAL! TOUT OU RIEN! POINT DE PARTAGE! The Cardinal, alarmed at his demeanour, hastened to assure him that the idea was entirely his own, conceived from his great affection to the Exiled Family, and not at all proceeding from or known to, King Louis.*

The applications of Charles were not confined to France; early in 1747, he undertook an adventurous journey to Madrid, and obtained an audience of the King and Queen, but found them so much in awe of the British Court, as to allow him only a few hours' stay.† He next turned his hopes

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 568.

† See a very curious account of this journey by Charles himself in his letter of March 12. 1747. Appendix.

towards Frederick of Prussia. In April 1748 he dispatched Sir John Graham to Berlin with instructions, "To propose, in a modest manner, a "marriage with one of them. To declare that I "never intend to marry but a Protestant; and, if "the King refuses an alliance with him, to ask "advice whom to take, as he is known to be the "wisest Prince in Europe."* This scheme, however, though promising success for a short time, ended like the rest in failure. CHAP. XXX. 1748.

Ere long, moreover, domestic discord arose to embitter the coldness or hostility of strangers. Charles's brother having secretly quitted Paris without any previous notice to him, had returned to Rome and resolved to enter holy orders. With the concurrence of the old Pretender, and by a negotiation with the Pope, he was suddenly named a Cardinal, on the 3d of July 1747, the design being concealed from Charles until a few days before, so as to guard against his expected opposition.† It is difficult to describe with how much consternation the tidings struck the exiled Jacobites; several did not hesitate to declare it of much worse consequence to them than even the battle of Culloden.‡ Charles himself, as he was

* Instructions for Sir John Graham in Charles's writing, and dated April 4. 1748. Stuart Papers. It is remarkable that the Duke of Newcastle writes to the Lord Chancellor, September 21. 1753: "The King of Prussia is now avowedly the prin-"cipal, if not the sole support of the Pretender and of the "Jacobite cause." Coxe's Pelham.

† James to Prince Charles, June 13. 1747. See Appendix.

‡ Mr. Hay to Mr. Edgar, July 26. 1747. Stuart Papers.

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the most injured, appeared the most angry; he broke off all correspondence whatever with his brother, and his letters to his father from this time forward became brief, cold, and constrained.

At the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French Court, though willing to relinquish Charles's cause, and to stipulate his exclusion from their territories, were not wholly unmindful of his interests nor of their promises. They proposed to establish him at Friburg in Switzerland, with the title of Prince of Wales, a company of guards, and a sufficient pension. In Charles's circumstances there was certainly no better course to take than to accept these terms. But the lower he sank in fortunes the higher he thought himself bound to rise in spirit. He placed a romantic point of honour in braving the "orders from Hanover," as he called them, and positively refused to depart from Paris. Threats, entreaties, arguments were tried on him in vain. He withstood even a letter, obtained from his father at Rome, and commanding his departure. He still, perhaps, nourished some secret expectation, that King Louis would not venture to use force against a kinsman; but he found himself deceived. As he went to the opera on the evening of the 11th of December, his coach was stopped by a party of French guards, himself seized, bound hand and foot, and conveyed, with a single attendant, to the state prison of Vincennes, where he was thrust into a dungeon, seven feet wide and eight long. After this public insult, and

a few days' confinement, he was carried to Pont de Beauvoisin on the frontier of Savoy, and there restored to his wandering and desolate freedom. CHAP. XXX. 1748.

The first place to which Charles repaired upon his liberation was the Papal city of Avignon. But in a very few weeks he again set forth, attended only by Colonel Goring, and bearing a fictitious name. From this time forward his proceedings during several years are wrapped in mystery; all his correspondence passed through the hands of Mr. Waters, his banker at Paris: even his warmest partisans were seldom made acquainted with his place of abode; and though he still continued to write to his father at intervals, his letters were never dated. Neither friends nor enemies at that time could obtain any certain information of his movements or designs. Now, however, it is known that he visited Venice and Germany, that he resided secretly for some time at Paris, that he undertook a mysterious journey to England in 1750, and perhaps another in 1752, or 1753; but his principal residence was in the territory of his friend the Duke de Bouillon, where, surrounded by the wide and lonely forest of Ardennes, his active spirit sought in the dangerous chace of boars and wolves an image of the warlike enterprise which was denied him. It was not till the death of his father in 1766 that he returned to Rome, and be-

* Charles wrote a most minute account of this transaction, in the third person; it was published as "Lettre d'un officier Français à son ami à Londres;" and the MS. is still amongst the Stuart Papers.

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came reconciled to his brother. But his character had darkened with his fortunes. A long train of disappointments and humiliations working on a fiery mind, spurred it almost into frenzy, and degraded it. The habit of drinking, which for some years he indulged without restraint, seems to have been first formed during his Highland adventures and escapes; when a dram of whiskey might sometimes supply the want of food and of rest. Thus was the habit acquired, and, once acquired, it continued after the cause of it had ceased, and even grew amidst the encouragement of his exiled friends. The earliest hint I have found of this vice in Charles, is in a letter of April, 1747, addressed to Lord Dunbar, but only signed by the initial of the writer.* It alleges that an Irish Cordelier, named Kelly, has of late been much in the Prince's society and confidence; that Kelly loves good wine with all the fervour of a monk; and that, by this means, "His "Royal Highness's character in point of sobriety "has been a little blemished." A century before, Lord Clarendon reproaches the banished loyalists with intemperance†, at all times the fatal resource of poverty and sorrow; but the Prince, who could not relieve them by his bounty, should at least have forborne from degrading them by his example.

Still worse, perhaps, was his conduct with regard to Miss Walkinshaw. This lady, it is said, first

Stuart Papers. See Appendix.

† Life of the Earl of Clarendon by himself, vol. i. p. 353. ed. 1827.

became known to him in Scotland; he sent for her some years after his return from that country, and soon allowed her such dominion over him, that she became acquainted with all his schemes, and trusted with his most secret correspondence. As soon as this was known in England, his principal adherents took alarm, believing that she was in the pay of the English ministers, and observing that her sister was housekeeper of the Dowager Princess of Wales. So much did they think their own safety endangered, that they dispatched Mr. Mac Namara, one of their most trusty agents, with instructions to lay their apprehensions before the Prince, and to insist that the lady should, for some time at least, be confined to a convent. In answer Charles declared that he had no violent passion for Miss Walkinshaw, and could see her removed from him without concern, but that he would not receive directions in respect to his private conduct from any man alive. In vain did Mr. Mac Namara try every method of persuasion, and frequent renewals of his argument. Charles thought it a point of honour, that none should presume on his adversity to treat him with disrespect, and determined to brave even the ruin of his interest (for such was the alternative held out to him) rather than bate one iota of his dignity. Mac Namara at length took leave of him with much resentment, saying, as he passed out, "What "can your family have done, Sir, thus to draw "down the vengeance of Heaven on every branch

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"of it through so many ages?"* — Upon his report, most of the remaining Jacobite leaders, irritated at their Prince's pride, and, soon afterwards won over by the splendid successes of Lord Chatham, seized the opportunity to break off all connection with the exiles, and to rally in good earnest round the reigning family.

In a former chapter I have described the person and manner of Charles as he appeared in youth; let me now add a portrait of him in his later years. An English lady, who was at Rome in 1770, observes, "The Pretender is naturally above the "middle size, but stoops excessively; he appears "bloated and red in the face; his countenance "heavy and sleepy, which is attributed to his "having given into excess of drinking: but, when "a young man, he must have been esteemed "handsome. His complexion is of the fair tint, "his eyes blue, his hair light brown, and the "contour of his face a long oval; he is by no "means thin, has a noble person, and a graceful "manner. His dress was scarlet laced with broad "gold lace; he wears the blue riband outside of "his coat, from which depends a cameo, antique, "as large as the palm of my hand; and he wears "the same garter and motto as those of the noble order of St. George in England. Upon the "whole, he has a melancholy, mortified appearance. "Two gentlemen constantly attend him; they are

* Dr. King's Anecdotes, p. 207

"of Irish extraction, and Roman Catholics you "may be sure. . . . . At Princess Palestrina's he asked me if I understood the game of "TARROCHI, which they were about to play at. I "answered in the negative: upon which, taking "the pack in his hands, he desired to know if I "had ever seen such odd cards? I replied, that "they were very odd indeed. He then displaying "them said, here is every thing in the world to "be found in these cards — the sun, moon, the "stars; and here, says he (throwing me a card), "is the Pope; here is the Devil, and added he "there is but one of the trio wanting, and you "know who that should be! I was so amazed, "so astonished, though he spoke this last in a "laughing, good-humoured manner, that I did "not know which way to look; and as to a reply, "I made none."*

In his youth Charles, as we have seen, had formed the resolution of marrying only a Protestant princess; however, he remained single during the greater part of his career, and when in 1754, he was urged by his father to take a wife, he replied, "The unworthy behaviour of certain "ministers, the 10th of December 1748, has put "it out of my power to settle any where without "honour or interest being at stake; and were it

* Letters from Italy by an Englishwoman, London, 1776, vol. ii. p. 198. This description of Charles's countenance well agrees with the portrait taken in 1776 by Ozias Humphry, of which an engraving is given in the Culloden Papers, p. 227.

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"even possible for me to find a place of abode, I "think our family have had sufferings enough, which "will always hinder me to marry, so long as in mis- "fortune, for that would only conduce to increase "misery, or subject any of the family that should "have the spirit of their father to be tied neck and "heel, rather than yield to a vile ministry."* Nevertheless in 1772, at the age of fifty-two, Charles espoused a Roman Catholic, and a girl of twenty, Princess Louisa of Stolberg.† This union proved as unhappy as it was ill assorted. Charles treated his young wife with very little kindness. He appears, in fact, to have contracted a disparaging opinion of her sex in general; and I have found, in a paper of his writing about that period, "As for men, I have studied them closely; "and were I to live till fourscore, I could scarcely "know them better than now; but as for women, "I have thought it useless, they being so much "more wicked and impenetrable."‡ Ungenerous and ungrateful words! Surely, as he wrote them, the image of Flora Macdonald should have risen in his heart and restrained his pen!

The Count and Countess of Albany (such was

* Prince Charles to Mr. Edgar, March 24. 1754. Stuart Papers.

† Her mother, Princess Stolberg, survived till 1826. I was once introduced to her at Frankfort, and found her in extreme old age, still lively and agreeable. It is singular that a man, born eighty-five years after the Chevalier, should have seen his mother-in-law.

‡ Stuart Papers, Orig. in French. See Appendix.

the title they bore) lived together during several years at Florence, a harsh husband and an intriguing wife; until at length, weary of constraint, she eloped with her lover Alfieri. Thus left alone in his old age, Charles called to his house his daughter by Miss Walkinshaw, and created her Duchess of Albany, through the last exercise of an expiring prerogative. She was born about 1753, and survived her father only one year. Another consolation of his dotage was a silly regard, and a frequent reference, to the prophecies of Nostradamus, several of which I have found among his papers. Charles afterwards returned to Rome with his daughter. His health had long been declining, and his life more than once despaired of; but in January 1788 he was seized with a paralytic stroke, which deprived him of the use of one half of the body, and he expired on the 30th of the same month.* His funeral rites were performed by his brother the Cardinal, at Frascati.† In the vault of that church lie mouldering the remains of what was once a brave and gallant heart; and beneath St. Peter's dome, a stately monument, from the chisel of Canova, has since arisen to the

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* The date publicly assigned was the 31st of January; but I have been informed that he really died on the 30th; and that his attendants, disliking the omen, as the anniversary of King Charles's execution, notwithstanding the difference of the Old and New Style, concealed his death during the night, and asserted that he had died at nine o'clock the next morning. This was told me by Cardinal Caccia Piatti, at Rome, who had heard it from some of the Prince's household.

† Letter from Rome (Annual Register, vol. xxx. p. 255.).

CHAP. XXX. 1748. Memory of JAMES THE THIRD, CHARLES THE THIRD, AND HENRY THE NINTH, KINGS OF ENGLAND —names which an Englishman can scarcely read without a smile or a sigh!

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Thus ended a party, often respectable for generous motives, seldom for enlarged views or skilful designs. In their principles the Jacobites were certainly mistaken. They were wrong in shutting their eyes to the justice, necessity, and usefulness of the Revolution of 1688. They were wrong in struggling against the beneficent sway of the House of Hanover. They were wrong in seeking to impose a Roman Catholic head upon the Protestant Church of England. But we, on our part, should do well to remember that the Revolution of 1688 was not sought but forced upon us—that its merit consists partly in the reluctance with which it was embraced—that it was only an exception, though fully justified by the emergency, from the best safeguard of liberty and order, the principle of HEREDITARY RIGHT. Can there be a greater proof of the value of that principle, than the firmness with which so many hundred thousands, under the name of Jacobites, continued to cling to it for so many years after its infraction? And what wise statesman would willingly neglect or forego an instrument of Government so easily acquired, so cheaply retained, and so powerfully felt?

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How soon, on the decay of the Stuart cause, other discontents and cabals arose, the eloquent Letters of Junius — embalming the petty insects — are alone sufficient to attest. In these no great principles were involved; but, ere long, the battle of parties came to be fought on American ground; and, under the second Pitt, the efforts of the Jacobites were succeeded by the fiercer and more deadly struggle of the Jacobins. Indeed, in the whole period since the Revolution to the present hour, there has not been a single epoch pure from most angry partisanship, unless it be the short administration of Chatham. This unceasing din and turmoil of factions — this eternal war that may often tempt a gentler spirit, like Lord Falkland's, to sigh forth "Peace, peace, peace!" has also provoked attacks from the most opposite quarters against our admirable system of tempered freedom. The favourer of despotism points to the quiet and tranquillity which are sometimes enjoyed under unlimited Kings. "Endeavour," cries the Republican, "to allay the popular restlessness by "conceding a larger measure of popular control." Between these two extremes there lies a more excellent way. May we never, on the plea that conflagrations often rage amongst us, consent to part with that noble flame of liberty which warms and cherishes the nations, while — a still higher blessing — it enlightens them! Let us, on the other hand, not be unmindful of the fact, that the wider

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the sphere of popular dominion, the louder does the cry of faction inevitably grow; and that the unreasonableness of the demands rises in the same proportion as the power to arrest them fails. The truth is, that so long as ignorance is not allowed to trample down education and intellect — that is, so long as order and property are in any degree preserved, so long it is still possible to make complaints against "the privileged few." Any thing short of anarchy may be railed at as aristocracy.

For ourselves who, turning awhile from the strife and contention of the hour, seek to contemplate the deeds of the mighty dead, let us always endeavour to approach them reverentially and calmly, as judges, not as partisans. I know not indeed that it is needful, or even desirable — not at least for men engaged in active life — to divest themselves of all their feelings for the present, while reviewing the transactions of the past. He who does not feel strongly, has no right to act strongly in state affairs; and why should he who feels strongly, and who wishes to speak sincerely, suppress and glide over in his writings those principles which guide and direct him in his life? But with equal sincerity that those principles are avowed and professed whenever reference happens to occur to them — with the same spirit as that in which the venerable Head of our Law may revert from a debate in the Lords to a trial in the Court

of Chancery — let us, when commenting on by-gone days — when the public welfare can no longer call, as we conceive, for vehement expressions, or be served by decisive measures — earnestly resolve and strive to give every person and every party their due, and no more than their due. Thus alone can we attain the noble aim of History, "Philosophy teaching by examples;"—thus alone can we hope to inform the minds of others, and to chasten and exalt our own;—thus alone, after party plaudits are stilled in death, may we yet aspire to the meed of honourable fame!

# APPENDIX.

# EXTRACTS

FROM

# THE STUART PAPERS.

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## EARL MARISCHAL TO JAMES.

*Val de Avero, June* 21. 1740.

SIR,

As I am in the country any news I could send would come a post later than what your Majesty will have from the Duke of Ormond. He has asked leave to retire, and I design to do the same when he does, for since he could do nothing it is very sure I cannot; neither can I live in Madrid, not being paid, but at a very considerable expense, and though your Majesty should be pleased to offer me what might support me, I should think myself obliged to refuse it, when I knew it would be money ill employed, and that you have more necessary uses for it. I propose, when I leave this country, to go live either in Switzerland or in Venice, both cheap places for a retirement. In Venice, I have no need of any unnecessary equipage, and I shall be nearer to pay my court from time to time to your Majesty and to the Princes, if, by misfortune, you should remain yet some time in Rome. If I could be of any real service to your Majesty with you in Rome I should solicit that honour, and I know you would grant my request. If I could be of any service as a negotiator in some other place, I would propose it to your Majesty, but I know I cannot, and that it is an employment for which I am noways fit, unless I could go home to negotiate, which I cannot. And therefore I 1740.

1741. hope your Majesty will be so good as to allow me to live quietly with a great Plutarch, in the way I wish, until there comes an occasion for real service, when you shall find me always ready. I shall expect this indulgence from your Majesty, not for my services, but for my good will to have served you, if I had had the occasion. The oddness of the proceedings of Nicholas (the King of Spain) makes an odd notion come into my head, that he manages the Court of England in the manifesto he made public. It is the pride of the people made the King make war. Every Protestant subject of Proby (Britain) has been treated with spite except two in Cadiz, and yet Mr. Keene was treated not only with civility at his going but with kindness. They have shunned to name you, Sir, so much as once; what they have done might serve (or they might think so) to distress the people, but nothing has been intended against the English Government, which they know was forced into the war, and which, I am persuaded they count on as ready to forward peace as soon as they dare, and therefore manage that Government still. They think the people who occasioned the war will soon grow tired of it; and therefore endeavour to distress them by all means, and manage the English Government. The King of Spain refused to the Duke of Ormond an audience: all which confirms me in this odd notion of mine.

What I say of my retiring is meant, when not being paid I cannot stay here: and when I see I can be of no use to your Majesty here.

I am, with the most respectful attachment, &c.

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## MR. THOMAS CARTE TO JAMES.

*Indorsed, Recd. April* 17. 1741.

THE late attempt against Sir Robert Walpole in the Houses of Lords and Commons in England seems to have been very ill

managed and concerted; at least in the latter. It was set on foot by the Duke of Argyle and the party of old Whigs, without either concerting measures with the Tories or acquainting them with the matter; so that when it was moved in the Commons Sir John Hinde Cotton, and Sir Watkin Williams were forced to go about the House to solicit their friends to stay the debate, which they were vexed should be brought on without their concurrence: and all they could say could not keep Will Shippen and 23 others of the Tories from leaving the House in a body. All Prince Frederick's servants, and party also, except Lyttleton, Pitt, and Grenville, Lord Cobham's nephew, left the House: so that though there were once above 500 members in the House, when the question came to be put, about four in the morning, there were not above 400 present. Had all Sir Robert's actual opposers staid, he would not have carried the question by above 50 votes; but the retiring of so many, encouraged others to stay, and even vote for him, who durst not else have done it. Among those who so voted were Lord Cornbury, Lord Quarendon, the Earl of Lichfield's son, Mr. Bathurst, son of the Lord of that name, and Lord Andover, son to the Earl of Berkshire: though the fathers of the three last voted against Sir Robert Walpole in the House of Lords; which is an odd circumstance enough. Mr. Sandys moved for an address to remove Sir Robert from all his posts, &c.: his speech was a very good one, and his accusation of Sir Robert was very strong, clear, and methodical. He was seconded by Lord Limerick: and then Wortley Montagu got up, and moved, that Sir Robert might make his answer to the charge, and withdraw. Precedents were demanded, and searched; but none could be found, in the hurry, for the Houses ordering a member accused to withdraw whilst his case is debated: another proof of the affair not being well concerted and considered; for bodies of men always go by precedents; and there are enough in the Journals of an accused member being ordered to withdraw. This weak attempt to ruin Sir Robert has established him more firmly in the Ministry; and he was never known to have so great a levee as the next morning: though it is marking him out to the nation; and ministers once attacked in such 1741.

1743. a manner, though the attack be defeated, seldom keep their posts long, by reason of the general odium; and the Duke of Buckingham had a worse fate in 1628. Sir Robert, however, is as yet absolute master of the administration; and as the squabbles and animosities between those left in it last year obstructed all business then, he will take care probably to have it so modelled, now that his master is going into Germany, for his purpose, that all the power will be in his own hands. I wish he may make a proper use of it.

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## MR. THOMAS CARTE TO JAMES.

*Paris, May* 4. 1743.

Upon my arrival in England last year, I found the majority in Parliament, which had been at first in favour of the opposition, turned to the advantage of the Court, by the defection of some of the chiefs of the old Whigs, who had entered with the late Minister into several stipulations; the three principal of which were, to screen him from public justice; to keep up a standing army; and to support Hanover at the expense of England: and, in consideration thereof, one of the offices of Secretary of State, and the two Boards of the Treasury and Admiralty, were to be at the disposal of Mr. Pulteney and his friends. It was necessary to keep this transaction private, because there was such a spirit at that time in Parliament, as well as the nation (all offers of places, of pensions, and of money, having been rejected by the meanest and most indigent member of the House of Commons), that, had their measures been known, they would, in all appearances, have been defeated. Thus Sandys, Rushout, and Gybbon were put into the Treasury, at the head of which Lord Wilmington, an old, infirm, quiet, and inactive man, presided, till

Mr. Pulteney could take the charge upon him, who, in the mean time, declaimed as much as ever against taking a place himself, and thereby preserved his credit with a great many of his party; though his play was well enough seen into by the heads of the Tories, and particularly by Sir John St. Aubin, who was always one of those deputed by this last party to treat with Pulteney, Winchelsea, and other chiefs of the old Whigs, and who gave me this account in the middle of March was twelve month, the first time I waited upon him after my arrival in England. But, to break with them before this was generally known was not thought advisable, so that they found means to carry their point, to screen Sir Robert from punishment, to procure greater supplies than he would have had assurance enough to ask, to keep up a standing army, and to sacrifice England to Hanover. 1743.

Notwithstanding all this, your Majesty's cause seems to me to have derived several advantages from that session. Among these I reckon the utter contempt into which Prince Frederick is fallen by his conduct at that time, so that nobody for the future will have any recourse to him, or dependance upon him; but, in case of discontent, will naturally look out for redress from another quarter: and I think the events of that session may naturally enough keep people from ever expecting redress of their grievances in a Parliamentary way, or from any change of a Ministry, or indeed in any way, but by your Majesty's restoration. Another advantage was, the removal of Sir Robert Walpole from all his posts; for whoever succeeds him will hardly succeed to that entire credit he had with his master, by which he kept him from several steps from which he will scarce be deterred by any other's advice.

Another good effect of Sir Robert Walpole's removal was, the bringing of the new set of Ministers into power, whose measures have done your Majesty so much service. There never was a bolder, more blustering and hot-headed Minister than Carteret; and the consequence of all the steps which he inspires will be seen into and felt the first moment, whereas his predecessor proceeded with more art, and it was some time after his measures

1743. were taken, that the ill consequences thereof were either apprehended or approved. The world sooner forgets an ill action in a man than an imprudent speech; and in whatever method a man designs to govern, it was certainly no very politic declaration which Carteret made publicly as soon as he got into power, namely, that *it was impossible to govern England but by corruption;* had he said that it was impossible for such men as himself, or for a Whig Ministry, he had been right.

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## JAMES TO CARDINAL TENCIN.

*Albano, ce 27 Juin*, 1743.

RIEN n'est plus désirable en général pour moi qu'un voyage du Prince, mon fils, en France; mais si vous méditez serieusement une entreprise sur l'Angleterre, ne serait-il pas plus prudent de différer un tel voyage jusqu'à l'execution du grand projet? Car une telle demarche fera un grand éclat, mettera le Gouvernement d'Angleterre sur ses gardes, et l'engagera à mettre tout en œuvre pour se prémunir contre une invasion qu'il regardera alors comme certaine et prochaine. J'ai cru devoir vous faire cette réflexion, mais si en attendant vous me mandez que le Roi de France souhaite que mon fils vient en France je l'enverrai.

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## EARL MARISCHAL TO ———

*Nov.* 4. 1743.

JE vous envoie une estampe dont on débite grand nombre parmi le peuple en Angleterre. Le *Starve donc* vient de ce qu'on dit que le pain manquait deux jours parmi les Anglais pendant que les Hanoveriens en avaient abondam-

ment. *Bon pour Nicole* est une histoire qu'on fait d'un Français à Hanovre qui ne pouvait pas trouver dans ce pays du pain mangeable et en ayant fait apporter du meilleur il dit *Bon pour Nicole* son cheval, à qui il le donna. Toutes ces choses vraies ou fausses font effet sur le peuple. 1744-5.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER. *

(*Extract.*)

*Paris, Nov.* 30. 1744.

THE only thing that is good I have to say is, as long as there is life there is hope, that's the proverb. . . . . S. Littleton (Sir Thomas Sheridan) found Wright (Cardinal Tencin) in extreme bad humour at the proceedings of Adam (King Louis), and his fellow lawyers (ministers). *On le serait à moins.* You may imagine how I must be out of humour at all these proceedings, when, for comfort, I am plagued out of my life with *tracasseries* from our own people; who, as it would seem, would rather sacrifice me and my affairs than fail in any private view of their own. Dean (Lord John Drummond) is one of those that has been plaguing me with complaints, but I quieted him in the best manner I could, saying that whatever is said of our own people, though never so well grounded, was cutting our own throats.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

(*Extract.*)

*Paris, Jan.* 3. 1745.

IF Isham (himself) had not represented that it was impossible for him to part without paying his debts, or some of them, I

* The MS. letters of Charles, like several others in this work display gross ignorance of spelling; but to retain all these errors in printing them, could only serve to weary and perplex the reader.

1745. believe he would have got little or nothing. Now that he has got at least something, he intends to part to his imprisonment *, where I believe he will have full occasion to have the spleen, by seeing no appearance of real business, and being entirely out of the way of company, and diversions that accompany any great town; but all this Isham (the Prince) does not regret in the least, as long as he thinks it of service for our great lawsuit: he would put himself in a tub, like Diogenes, if necessary!

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Paris, February* 28. 1745.

SIR,

I HAVE received yours of the 1st and 7th current. As I have been so much hurried between balls and business, I shall refer to my next. It would be a great comfort to me to have real business on my hands, but I see little of that at present, as I shall explain in another. It is something surprising to me not to have heard from Lumley (Lord Sempill) this two weeks; and even he owes me an answer to one of mine of that standing: but I easily conceive the reason on't, which is, that after making such a noise of his being able to do a great deal, he does nothing, or he does not care to let me in the confidence of his managements, which, I believe, has happened before now to more than he, for I see here every body thinks himself to be the wisest man in the world!

I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, &c.

CHARLES P.

* He retired for some weeks to Fitz-James, the former seat of the Duke of Berwick, near Clermont de l'Oise.

1745.

## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Paris, March* 7. 1745.

I HAVE read and considered the Duke of Perth's message, which is, in the first place, to buy, if Jenkins (the Prince) can possibly, some broad-swords unmounted, for they do that in their own way. . . . He says, that he knew a place where there was a considerable sum of money that he could lay hold on when he pleased, but that not to be attempted till the happy time of action comes. It is a thing absolutely necessary (though I have little hopes myself of any thing being soon to be done anywhere for the cause) to make our friends think otherwise for to keep them in spirits, and not let them be cast down; for which reason the only thing that was in Howell's (the Prince's) power, Jenkins (the Prince) thought should not be let slip for that end, at any cost whatsoever; for which I took upon me to borrow forty thousand livres from young Waters, for to be able to dispatch the messenger back, and buying of broad-swords, which is the only comfort the Prince can give them at present: rather than to have wanted this sum, Isham (the Prince) would have pawned his shirt. It is but for such uses that the Prince shall ever trouble Trig (the King) with asking for money; it will never be for plate or fine clothes, but for arms and ammunition, or other things that tend to what I am come about to this country. I therefore wish that Hanmer (the King) would pawn all Isham's (the Prince's) jewels, for on this side the water Howell (the Prince) would wear them with a very sore heart, thinking that there might be made a better use of them, so that, in an urgent necessity, Howell (the Prince) may have a sum which he can make use of for the cause; for the Prince sees almost every thing at the French Court sticks at the money, as it did in this last enterprise, which was when the Prince insisted for an expedition in Scotland at the same time with England. They answered, they would give me troops, but had not or would not give money or arms; for which reason the having such a sum at

1745. command, would be of great use: but, at the same time, the Court of France must not suspect in the least that I have such a sum; for perhaps they may give it now, though they would not then.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Paris, April* 19. 1745.

SIR,

I HAVE received yours of the 30th March, at my arrival here, where I intend to pass the week, for to see a firework and a *ball masqué*, given by the Spanish ambassador. I thank your Majesty for being so good as to order the payment of the 40,000 livres, which I took upon me to borrow, and am very sensible at the goodness you have to speak your mind so freely to me, which I am sure is a great relief to me. My want of experience is what I too much know, and would fain get as soon as possible, for to be able to serve you and our country more effectually, and to purpose, which is all that I am put in this world for. I really thought myself very sure of not erring when I took up this money, but finding I mistook, I shall be more rigorous and reserved in doing any thing that is my own thought or opinion for the future. It would be endless for me to write, or for you to read, if I was to enter in the detail of all the little malice and odd doings of Lumley (Lord Sempill), Maloch (Bohaldie), and some others; it is also very disagreeable to me the writing such things. I shall only say at present, as to these matters, this, to conjure you to be on your guard from Kerry and Morrice, for really I cannot believe a word they say, after the lies they told me, particularly that of the paper, which cannot be more demonstration. I think to discharge my conscience in saying this, being very sure of it. At the same time I recommend to you not in the least to seem to be knowing of this malice, for with their *Regiros*, if disgusted, they would certainly do a great deal of harm, to which there

is no help. Both Morgan and Lumley are doing all their endeavours for my making campaign, but I have too much reason to be afraid they won't succeed, which I own will be very mortifying and cruel. It is very extraordinary Maloch's and Lumley's complaining I would not see them, which is not so, for I have on several occasions said to them, over and over, that they were always welcome wherever I was; but it is certain that they both never say to me any thing to the purpose; I believe, because that they have nothing to say, which makes them both avoid seeing and writing to me as much as possible. You see by this what they are, and that their heads are filled with nothing but malice and spite. Sir Hector has lost his *proie*, for which he is not a little angry, as you may believe, against Lord John, which makes me apprehensive it should end in a challenge. I am doing all I can to hinder it, in which I hope to succeed; at least it won't be want of my pains, which I take in this case to be charity for them both; though as to Lord John, I can't say what he deserves, after such a proceeding. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing. 1745.

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Navarre, June* 7. 1745.

SIR,

I HAVE received yours of the 18th May, there being in it also a note in your own hand. I cannot be too sensible at so much goodness you express towards me. If your Majesty was in this country, I flatter myself you would be surprised to see with your own eyes how I blind several, and impose upon them at the same time they think to do it to me. If I was not able to do this, things here would go at a fine rate, considering what malice there is in this world, and very often only for mischief-sake

1745. alone, doing hurt at the same time to themselves. I have nothing more to say at present, but to lay myself most humbly at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing, and remaining

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Navarre, June* 12. 1745.

SIR,

I BELIEVE your Majesty little expected a courier at this time, and much less from me; to tell you a thing that will be a great surprise to you. I have been, above six months ago, invited by our friends to go to Scotland, and to carry what money and arms I could conveniently get; this being, they are fully persuaded, the only way of restoring you to the Crown, and them to their liberties. . . . . .

After such scandalous usage as I have received from the French Court, had I not given my word to do so, or got so many encouragements from time to time as I have had, I should have been obliged, in honour and for my own reputation, to have flung myself into the arms of my friends, and die with them, rather than live longer in such a miserable way here, or be obliged to return to Rome, which would be just giving up all hopes. I cannot but mention a parable here, which is; a horse that is to be sold, if spurred does not skip, or show some sign of life, nobody would care to have him even for nothing; just so my friends would care very little to have me, if, after such usage, which all the world is sensible of, I should not show that I have life in me. Your Majesty cannot disapprove a son's following the example of his father. You yourself did the like in the year 15; but the circumstances now are indeed very different, by being much more encouraging, there being a certainty of succeed-

ing with the least help; the particulars of which would be too long to explain, and even impossible to convince you of by writing, which has been the reason that I have presumed to take upon me the managing all this, without even letting you suspect there was any such thing a brewing, for fear of my not being able to explain, and show you demonstratively how matters stood —which is not possible to be done by writing, or even without being upon the place and seeing things with your own eyes: and had I failed to convince you, I was then afraid you might have thought what I had a mind to do, to be rash; and so have absolutely forbid my proceedings. . . . . 1745.

I have tried all possible means and stratagems to get access to the King of France, or his Minister, without the least effect, nor could I even get Littleton (Sir Thomas Sheridan) an audience, who I was sure would say neither more nor less than what I desired, and would faithfully report their answer. As for Wright (the Cardinal), he is not much trusted or well looked upon by Adam (the King of France), who is timorous, and has not resolution enough to displace him. Now I have been obliged to steal off, without letting the King of France so much as suspect it, for which I make a proper excuse in my letter to him; by saying it was a great mortification to me never to have been able to speak and open my heart to him; that this thing was of such a nature that it could not be communicated by any of the ministers or by writing, but to himself alone—in whom, after God Almighty, my resting lies, and that the least help would make my affair infallible. If I had let the French Court know this beforehand, it might have had all these bad effects:—1st, It is possible they might have stopped me, having a mind to keep measures with the Elector, and then, to cover it over, they would have made a merit of it to you, by saying they had hindered me from doing a wild and desperate thing: 2dly, My being invited by my friends would not be believed; or at least would have made little or no impression on the French Court. . . . . .

I have sent Stafford to Spain, and appointed Sir Thomas Geraldine to demand succours in my name, to complete the work, to whom I sent letters for the King and Queen, written in

1745. the most engaging terms, to the same purpose. Let what will happen, the stroke is struck, and I have taken a firm resolution to conquer or to die, and stand my ground as long as I shall have a man remaining with me. I think it of the greatest importance your Majesty should come as soon as possible to Avignon, but take the liberty to advise that you would not ask leave of the French Court; for if I be not immediately succoured, they will certainly refuse you. . . . . .

Whatever happens unfortunate to me cannot but be the strongest engagements to the French Court to pursue your cause. Now if I were sure they were capable of any sensation of this kind, if I did not succeed, I would perish, as Curtius did, to save my country, and make it happy; it being an indispensible duty on me, as far as lies in my power. Your Majesty may now see my reason for pressing so much to pawn my jewels, which I should be glad to have done immediately; for I never intend to come back, and money, next to troops, will be of the greatest help to me. I owe to old Waters about 60,000 livres, and to the young one above 120,000 livres. I and Sir Thomas will write more fully to Edgar about these matters, both as to the sum I carry with me and arms, as also how I go. I write this from Navarre, but it won't be sent off till I am on shipboard. If I can possibly, I will write a note and send it from thence at the same time. I have wrote to Lord Marischal, telling him to come immediately, and giving him a credential to treat with the Minister for succours. To the Duke of Ormond I have writ a civil letter, showing a desire of his coming here immediately, but at the same time leaving it to his discretion so to do. . . . . I should think it proper (if your Majesty pleases), to be put at his Holiness's feet, asking his blessing on this occasion; but what I chiefly ask is, your own, which I hope will procure me that of God Almighty, upon my endeavours to serve you, my family, and my country; which will ever be the only view of

Your Majesty's most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

1745.

## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

[Second Letter.]

*Navarre, June* 12. 1745.

SIR,

I MADE my devotions on Pentecost day, recommending myself particularly to the Almighty on this occasion to guide and direct me, and to continue to me always the same sentiments, which are, rather to suffer any thing than fail in any of my duties. I write to you this apart, for to entreat your Majesty, in the most earnest manner, to desire Grevill (the King) for God's sake not to give to Howell (himself) what he designed, that is a secret; for it would be of the greatest hurt to his farm. Let not his engagement with a certain person be any hindrance, for circumstances are changed, by which, if there was any question of that, one can find ways to come off on't. I must repeat this, that Grevill and his family is ruined if he does that thing. Grevill thinks this is an absolute secret; but he is mistaken, for I have heard it from several people, to whom I flatly denied it, and said I was very sure it was not true, to which every one of these said, God be praised; for if it were so, both father and son would be undone. Sovereigns upon the throne can do such things; and even then it is not advisable; but a private man ruins himself and his family in doing on't, especially one that has great many enemies. I lay myself again most humbly at your Majesty's feet; and remain your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO MR. EDGAR.

*Navarre, June* 12. 1745.

I HERE enclose you the King's and Duke's letters; one for Lord Dunbar, and another for S. Tencin. If the bearer be one

1745. Pleve, I know him to be very honest, and a good servant. Macdonald is his master, whom I carry with me; so the servant deserves to be taken care of. Having writ a long letter to the King, I chose to refer some particulars to be added to yours, which are these:—I owe old Waters about 60,000 livres, part of which went to the payment of my debts last winter, which the French Court did not think fit to complete. Young Waters has advanced me 120,000 livres, and promised to pay several other things which I have referred to him. It will be absolutely necessary to remit these two sums immediately; and young Waters desires that his money may be sent by Belloni directly to himself, without letting the old man know he made any such advance; and whatever other money may be remitted for my use, the best way will be to send it to the young one — for the other, I believe, will be glad to be eased of that trouble. All this money I have employed in my present undertaking, having bought fifteen hundred fusees, eighteen hundred broad-swords mounted, a good quantity of powder, ball, flints, dirks, brandy, &c., and some hundred more of fusees and broad-swords, of which I cannot at present tell the exact number. I have also got twenty small field-pieces, two of which a mule may carry; and my *cassette* will be near four thousand Louis d'ors: all these things will go in the frigate which carries myself. She has twenty odd guns, and is an excellent sailer; and will be escorted by one, and perhaps two men-of-war, of about seventy guns each. It will appear strange to you how I should get these things without the knowledge of the French Court. I employed one Rutledge and one Walsh, who are subjects. The first got a grant of a man-of-war to cruise on the coast of Scotland, and is, luckily, obliged to go as far north as I do, so that she will escort me without appearing to do it. Walsh understands his business perfectly well, and is an excellent seaman. He has offered to go with me himself, the vessel being his own that I go on board of. He has also a man-of-war that will likewise go with me, if she can be got ready in time, and a frigate of forty-four guns, which he took lately from the English, and is manning, to be sent out with all expedition. He lives at Nantes;

and I expect a courier every moment from him with an account that all is ready; and then I must lose no time to get there, and go directly on board. If there be no danger of being stopped or discovered, I shall write from thence. Adieu, friend. I hope it will not be long before you hear comfortable news. In the meantime, be assured of my constant friendship. 1745.

CHARLES P.

P.S.—I send you here also, enclosed, an authentic copy of what is to be printed and dispersed at my landing. I have forgot, also to mention, that I intend to land at or about the Isle of Mull. I enclose you here also five letters, and one open, to yourself; all from Sir Thomas.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Navarre, June* 20. 1745.

SIR,

I HAVE just received yours of the 24th May. I do not at all doubt but that Canilliac's tongue would go post at the news of the battle in Flanders, as he will also do for this new victory gained by the King of Prussia. I am, thank God, in perfect good health; but the time seems very long to me for to make use of it to the purpose. I have nothing in the world new. I suppose Morgan (Mr. O'Brien) and Morrice (Lord Sempill) write distinctly what they have to say. As for the latter, it is long since I have quite given up believing in the least any thing he says, which makes me never mention him. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing.

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

P.S.—As I finished this, I received yours of the 1st, and am heartily sorry for poor General Macdonald's death. I shall not fail to be attentive to what you mention in your little note.

1745.

## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*St. Nazaire, at the Mouth of the Loire, July* 2. 1745.

SIR,

THE contrary winds that have been blowing hitherto, have deferred my embarking, which will be this afternoon, at seven, for to go to the rendezvous of the man-of-war of 67 guns, and 700 men aboard, as also a company of sixty volunteers, all gentlemen, whom I shall probably get to land with me, I mean to stay; which, though few, will make a show, they having a pretty uniform. The number of arms are just as I mentioned in my last of the 12th, that goes with this, except the augmentation I was in hopes of is of a hundred or two less than I expected, which is no odds. I keep this open, and do not send it until I am fairly set off from Belle Isle — *id est* the rendezvous — so that I may add a note to it, if being sea-sick does not hinder; if it does, Sir Thomas will supply in mentioning what more may occur. It is a mortification to me to want so many of your packets which are lying at Paris, because of the daily expectation of parting. We have nothing to do now but to hope in the Almighty favouring us and recompensing our troubles; which, as you may see by the nature of the thing, were not small. I hope in God my next will bring comfortable news. In the meantime I remain, laying myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking your blessing,

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO MR. EDGAR.

*St. Nazaire, July* 2. 1745.

THIS being the last note I shall write this side of the seas, I would not fail to give you adieu in it, making my compliments to Lord Dunbar, and to as many of my friends as you shall think

convenient and proper. I enclose herewith letters for the King and Duke. I hope in God we shall soon meet, which I am resolved shall not be but at home. 1745.

In the meantime I remain, &c.

CHARLES P.

P.S.—*Belle Isle, à la Rade, the 12th July.* After having waited a week here, not without a little anxiety, we have at last got the escort I expected, which is just now arrived *id est*, a ship of 68 guns, and 700 men aboard. I am, thank God, in perfect good health, but have been a little sea-sick, and expect to be more so; but it does not keep me much a-bed, for I find the more I struggle against it the better.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Abord du vaisseau le Du Bellier à l'ancre dans la baie de Longhaylort, le 2 Août, V. S.* 1745.

SIRE,

J'AI reçu des services si importans de M. Antoine Walsh, qu'il n'y a rien que je ne me croie obligé de faire pour lui en témoigner mon agrément. Ainsi je lui ai promis d'employer tout mon crédit auprès de Votre Majesté pour lui obtenir le titre de Comte d'Irlande. Il est issu d'une fort bonne famille, très en état de soutenir la dignité de ce nouveau titre, et n'a pas besoin d'autre chose. C'est la première grace que je vous demande depuis mon arrivée dans ce pays. J'espère bien que ce ne sera pas la dernière, mais en tout cas, je vous supplie de me l'accorder. Je la regarderai comme une obligation particulière, accordée à votre très-obéissant fils,

CHARLES P.

1745.

## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Longhaylort, August* 4. 1745.

SIR,

I AM, thank God, arrived here in perfect good health, but not with little trouble and danger, as you will hear by the bearer, who has been along with me all along, that makes it useless for me to give any accounts and particulars on that head. I am joined here by brave people, as I expected. As I have not yet set up the Standard, I cannot tell the number, but that will be in a few days, as soon as the arms are distributed; at which we are working with all speed. I have not as yet got the return of the message sent to the Lowlands, but expect it very soon. If they all join, or at least all those to whom I have sent commissions, at request, every thing will go on to a wish. Sir Hector's * being taken up, is of no other consequence but of perhaps frightening some few; for they can make nothing of him, nor of some papers that were found in his room, which he denies having any knowledge of. The commissions, along with the declaration, are arrived safe, and in a proper hand. The worst that can happen to me, if France does not succour me, is to die at the head of such brave people as I find here, if I should not be able to make my way; and that I have promised to them, as you know to have been my resolution, before parting. The French Court must now necessarily take off the mask, or have an eternal shame on them; for at present there is no medium, and we, whatever happens, shall gain an immortal honour by doing what we can to deliver our country, in restoring our master, or perish with sword in hand. Your Majesty may easily conceive the anxiety I am in to hear from you. Having nothing more particular at present to add (not being able to keep the ship longer, for fear of men-of-war stopping her passage entirely), I shall end, laying myself with all respect and duty at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking a blessing.

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

* Sir Hector Maclean.

1745.

## PRINCE CHARLES TO MORAY OF ABERCAIRNEY.

*Kinlochiel, August* 22. 1745.

THIS is to let you know that I have set up the Royal Standard, and expect the assistance of all my friends. I want money in particular; and as I depend upon what I know you have promised me, I desire you would pay it immediately into the hands of Arnprior, or send it by a sure hand to whatever place I shall be in.

You must not doubt me but that I shall be always ready to acknowledge this and all other services, and to give you proportionable marks of my favour and friendship.*

CHARLES P. R.

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## PRINCE CHARLES' INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. HICKSON.

*Sept.* 22. 1745.

You are hereby authorised and directed to repair forthwith to England, and there notify to my friends, and particularly those in the north and north west, the wonderful success with which it has hitherto pleased God to favour my endeavours for their deliverance. You are to let them know, that it is my full intention, in a few days, to move towards them, and that they will be inexcusable before God and man, if they do not all in their power to assist and support me in such an undertaking. What I demand and expect is, that as many of them as can shall be ready to join me, and that they should take care to provide provisions and money, that the country may suffer as

* This letter is printed in the Jacobite Memoirs, p. 24. Several others, to the same purport, were written on that day.

1745. little as possible by the march of my troops. Let them know that there is no time for deliberation, — now or never is the word: I am resolved to conquer or perish. If this last should happen, let them judge what they and their posterity have to expect. *

C. P. R.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Edinburgh, Oct. 7. O. S.* 1745.

It is impossible for me to give you a distinct journal of my proceedings, because of my being so much hurried with business, which allows me no time; but notwithstanding, I cannot let slip this occasion of giving a short account of the battle of Gladsmuir, fought on the 21st of September, which was one of the most surprising actions that ever was. We gained a complete victory over General Cope, who commanded 3,000 foot, and two regiments of the best dragoons in the island, he being advantageously posted, with also batteries of cannon and mortars, we having neither horse or artillery with us, and being to attack them in their post, and obliged to pass before their noses in a defile and bog. Only our first line had occasion to engage; for actually, in five minutes the field was cleared of the enemies; all the foot killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; and of the horse only 200 escaped, like rabbits, one by one. On our side we only lost a hundred men, between killed and wounded; and the army afterwards had a fine plunder.

* Mr. Hickson proceeded as far as Newcastle, but was there arrested and put into prison, and those instructions found upon him. — (See Culloden Papers, p. 226.)

1745.

## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Edinburgh, Oct.* 15. *O. S.* 1745.

SIR,

I HAVE at last had the comfort of receiving letters from you, the latest of which is of the 7th Sept. N. S. I am confounded and penetrated with so much goodness and tenderness your Majesty expresses to me in all your letters. It is a grief to me that my keeping Strickland has given you one moment's concern, but I shall send him away in all haste. I hope your Majesty is persuaded that this fault, or any others I may have committed, is no want of the respect and submission which you will always find in me. I remark your letter to the King of France, in which you do me more honour than I deserve. I wish to God I may find my brother landed in England by the time I enter it, which will be in about ten days; having then with me near 8000 men, and 300 horse at least, with which, as matters stand, I shall have one decisive stroke for it, but if the French land, perhaps none. I cannot enlarge on this subject as on many others, for want of time, because of such a multiplicity of things which hourly occur for the service of the affair. Adam (King Louis) has sent me a gentleman (who brought me your letters) to stay with me, for to give notice of any thing that I may want, which, as he says, will be done immediately; accordingly I am sending off immediately three or four expresses, all to the same purpose, so that some one may arrive. What is said is very short, pressing to have succour in all haste, by a landing in England; for that, as matters stand, I must either conquer or perish, in a little while. Thank God, I am in perfect good health, but longing much for the happy day of meeting.

In the mean time, I remain, &c.,

CHARLES P.

The ship being just ready to go off, I have only time to enclose here a scrawl of the account of the battle, which I in a hurry writ some days ago.

1745.

## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Edinburgh, Oct. 22. O. S.* 1745.

SIR,

I HAVE charged Sir James Stewart to carry this as far as Paris, and to forward it immediately by a courier to your Majesty; as also to write you a distinct account of the situation of affairs. He is an understanding capable man, and can be depended on, which has made me choose him to send to the French Court with proper compliments to the French King, and to hasten them for succours. I hope your Majesty will be satisfied with his proceedings. As I have nothing particular to add, but what he can say, makes it needless for me to say any more at present. I am, thank God, in perfect good health, but still in the usual anxiety for want of letters, to which there is no help but patience. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing; and remaining, with the profoundest respect,

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

P. S.—As I writ to you in my last, I shall not fail to get rid of Strickland as soon as possible. Your Majesty, I hope, will forgive this scrawl, not having time to write it over, being so much hurried with business.

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## PROCLAMATION,

### TO THE INHABITANTS OF MANCHESTER.

[See Chambers's History, vol. i. p. 271.]

*Manchester, Nov.* 30. 1745.

HIS Royal Highness being informed that several bridges had been pulled down in this county, he has given orders to repair them forthwith, particularly that at Crossford, which is to be

done this night by his own troops, though his Royal Highness does not propose to make use of it for his own army, but believes it will be of service to the country; and if any forces that were with General Wade be coming this road, they may have the benefit of it! C. P. R. 1746.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO ONE OF HIS OFFICERS.

Je vous ordonne d'exécuter mes ordres ou de ne plus retourner.

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## THE PRETENDER TO PRINCE CHARLES.

*Albano, June* 6. 1746.

God knows where or when this will find you, my dearest Carluccio, but still I cannot but write to you in the great anxiety and pain I am in for you, from what the public news mentions from Scotland. I know nothing else; and I doubt not but those accounts are exaggerated, considering from whence they come. But still it is but too plain to see that affairs with you don't go as I could wish. I am, though, still in hopes you may be able to keep your ground in Scotland till you can have assistance from France: but if you really cannot maintain yourself in Scotland, do not, for God's sake, drive things too far; but think of your own safety, on which so much depends. Though your enterprise should miscarry, the honour you have gained by it will always stick by you; it will make you be respected, and considered abroad, and will, I think I may answer for it, always engage the French to protect and assist you, and to renew in time another project in your favour; so that you should really have no temptation to pursue rash or desperate measures at this time, for should you do so, it would be the ruin of all, and even a drawback from the honour you have already gained. In fine,

1746. my dear child, never separate prudence and courage. Providence has wonderfully assisted you hitherto, and will not abandon you for the time to come. This I firmly hope, while I shall not cease to beseech God to bless and direct you. Adieu, my dearest child, I tenderly embrace you, and am all yours. Once more, God bless you, and protect you.

JAMES R.

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## "A JOURNAL OF THE PRINCE'S TRANSACTIONS SINCE THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN TO THIS DAY, AS TAKEN FROM HIS OWN MOUTH."

This account is short and summary. The following is an account of Charles' disguise and assistance from Flora Macdonald:—

The Prince finding, as was proposed, that the best method was to disguise himself in woman's clothes, with a young lady that had a protection, he took his party to do so. The very night before he was to go off, landed General Campbell within a mile or two of him, which obliged the Prince to go a couple of miles southward to avoid the pressing danger, and wait the gloaming of the evening to get away; and for his comfort he had the men-of-war cruising before him, who, luckily, towards night-fall sailed off, which gave him the opportunity of making for Mungaster in Skye,—Lady Margaret Macdonald's house. 12th July. The Prince left Mr. O'Neal at Benbecula, as also his own arms, as the young lady refused to go if he or any other should carry any; but he insisted he might safely carry his pistols under the petticoats, as in case of search all would be discovered: but he could not prevail.

In the way to Mungaster, before mid-day, as he was crossing a point, a guard of the MacLeods challenged the boat; but he not minding to answer, they fired on the boat.

As soon as he landed, the young lady went to Lady Margaret's, and the Prince, at some distance, to wait a friend; and that evening he walked eight miles to a gentleman's house,

where he was to meet the young lady again; but being unused to petticoats, he held them, in walking, up so high that some common people remarked an awkwardness in wearing them, which being told, he was obliged to change his habit again next day; and went, being advised that Rasay was the best place to go to. He walked that evening eight miles, it pouring rain all the while, to get to the shore at ——— : there, being in men's clothes, he parted with the young lady, and embarked in a little boat for Rasay; being told the enemy was still on the main land. 1746.

(*Another Extract.*)

July 19. The Prince arrived at the main land in Glengary Morar, or North Morar, at the point of Loch Nevis, and having waited there three days to have intelligence, but to no effect, he resolved the eleventh day to try what intelligence he could get, and to cross a Loch within a mile of Scotus-house—(Nota Bene: all that time that he waited, he was exposed to wind and weather, and was excessively straightened for any kind of provision—) which he executed; and just as he crossed a little point entering the Loch, he stumbles on a boat of the enemy's, which was hidden in the Loch, when those who were ashore ran to their boats, which startled them a little; but the Prince, having along with him Mackinnon (and three Camerons) consulted with him what best to do; and he saying, that there was no possibility to avoid them, the best method was to put on a bold face, and make up to them, which accordingly was done—and proved to effect; for, as luck would have it, they happened to be only five, and so only questioned them, and let them go on; but, upon reflection, after we had passed them and gone down the Loch, fearing that more of them might have been at hand, and joining the others, might come up to them, he thought proper to stop and to climb up to the top of a very high hill, the south side of the Loch—which he did very quickly; but, being there, he observed the boat steering off to that part of Skye, called Slate, which made him go down to the place whence he had gone; and afterwards went to Morar. But his house being in his way to Borradale—which was no small fatigue, being obliged to march

1746. the whole night — he met there with Angus of Borradale; and skulked with him in a cave near the side of Lochnonona, for eight or ten days.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS BROTHER.

*Morlaix, October* 10. *N. S.* 1746.

DEAR BROTHER,

As I am certain of your great concern for me, I cannot express the joy I have, on your account, of my safe arrival in this country. I send here inclosed two lines to my master *, just to show him I am alive and safe, being fatigued not a little, as you may imagine. It is my opinion you should write immediately to the French King, giving him notice of my safe arrival, and at the same time excusing my not writing to him myself immediately, being so much fatigued, and hoping soon to have the pleasure of seeing him. I leave to your prudence the wording of this letter, and would be glad no time should be lost in writing and despatching it, as also that you should consult nobody without exception upon it, but Sir John Graham and Sir Thomas (Sheridan), the reasons of which I will tell you on meeting. It is an absolute necessity I must see the French King as soon as possible, for to bring things to a right head. Warren, the bearer, will instruct you of the way I would wish you should meet me at Paris. I embrace you with all my heart, and remain

Your most loving brother,

CHARLES P.

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## PRINCE HENRY TO HIS FATHER.

*Clichy, October* 17. 1746.

THE very morning after I writ you my last, I had the happiness of meeting with my dearest brother. He did not know me at

* His father.

first sight, but I am sure I knew him very well, for he is not in the least altered since I saw him, except grown somewhat broader and fatter, which is incomprehensible after all the fatigues he has endured. Your Majesty may conceive better than I can express in writing the tenderness of our first meeting. Those that were present said they never saw the like in their lives; and, indeed, I defy the whole world to show another brother so kind and loving as he is to me. For my part, I can safely say that all my endeavours tend to no other end but that of deserving so much goodness as he has for me. . . . The Prince sees and will scarce see any body but myself for a few days, that he may have a little time to rest before he is plagued by all the world, as to be sure he will, when once he sees company. I go every day to dine with him. Yesterday I brought him privately to see my house; and I perceive he has as much *goût* for the chase as ever he had. Most humbly asking your Majesty's blessing, I remain 1746.

Your most dutiful son,
HENRY.

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## MEMOIR TO THE KING OF FRANCE BY PRINCE CHARLES.

*Le* 10 *Novembre*, 1746.

LA situation dans laquelle j'ai laissé l'Ecosse, à mon départ, mérite toute l'attention de votre Majesté; ce royaume est à la veille de se voir anéantir, et le gouvernement d'Angleterre est résolu de confondre les sujets qui lui sont restés fidèles, avec ceux qui ont pris les armes pour moi; d'où il est aisé de conclure que le mécontentement de cette nation est général, et que j'y trouverais aujourd'hui trois partisans pour un que j'y ai trouvé en débarquant.

Ce serait tromper votre Majesté que de la flatter que je pourrais encore soulever l'Ecosse, si le Parlement a le temps cet

1746. hiver d'y mettre les lois pénales en execution. Votre Majesté devrait alors renoncer pour jamais au secours d'une révolution dans ce pays là, et moi je n'aurais de ressource que dans les cœurs des sujets de mon père, quand il plaira à la Providence de les rappeller.

Le nombre de sujets aguerris ne m'a jamais manqué en Ecosse. J'ai manqué tout à la fois, d'argent, de vivres, et d'une poignée de troupes régulières. Avec un seul de ces trois secours je serais encore aujourd'hui maître de l'Ecosse, et vraisemblablement de toute l'Angleterre.

Avec trois mille hommes de troupes régulières, j'aurais pénétré en Angleterre immédiatement après avoir défait le sieur Cope ; et rien ne s'opposait alors à mon arrivée à Londres, puisque l'Electeur était absent, et que les troupes Anglaises n'avaient pas encore repassé.

Avec des vivres, j'aurais été en état de poursuivre le Général Hawley après la bataille de Falkirk, et de détruire toute son armée, qui était la fleur des troupes Anglaises.

Si j'eusse reçu plutôt la moitié seulement de l'argent que votre Majesté m'a envoyé, j'aurais combattu le Duc de Cumberland avec un nombre égal, et je l'aurais sûrement battu, puisque avec quatre mille hommes contre douze, j'ai longtemps fait pencher la victoire, et que douze cent hommes de troupes réglées l'auraient décidée en ma faveur, au vu et au su de toute mon armée. Ces contretemps peuvent encore se réparer si votre Majesté veut me confier un corps de dix-huit ou vingt mille hommes. C'est dans son sein seul que je déposerai l'usage que j'en veux faire : je l'emploierai utilement pour ses intérêts et pour les miens. Ces intérêts sont inséparables, et doivent être regardés comme tels par tous ceux qui ont l'honneur d'approcher de votre Majesté, et qui ont sa gloire et l'avantage de son royaume.

CHARLES P. R.

1746.

## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*Paris, December* 19. 1746.

SIR,

I HAVE received yours of the 28th, and have read it with tears in my eyes, not so much for the loss of my old acquaintance*, as for the so many expressions of your Majesty's goodness to me, which I shall always be at pains to deserve, by doing what I can to serve and obey you. It is my duty to say and represent to your Majesty what I in my conscience think, as to some people; after which it is for you to judge, and I to obey what commands you think fit to give me. I cannot, without a new cipher (as I took the liberty already to say), put your Majesty into the light of several things, which, when I shall be able to do, I flatter myself you will approve of my proceedings; which I am very sensible at present must appear odd to you. It is my humble opinion it would be very wrong in me to disgrace G. K.†, unless your Majesty positively ordered me to do it. I must do him the justice to assure you I was surprised to find your Majesty have a bad opinion of him; and hitherto I have had no reason to be dissatisfied with him, for this was the first I heard of his honesty and probity to be in question. I shall take the liberty to represent, that if what he has been accused of to you, be wrote from hence, there is all reason to believe, *id est*, in my weak way of thinking, that such that have writ so to you mistake, because of my never having heard any body accuse him to me here of such things, and my having declared that my ears were open to every body, so as to be the better able to judge the characters of people. As Sir Thomas is dead and gone, it is useless to be troubling your Majesty for to justify him, but shall let it alone at present, until you to do it order me. I must own I am now entirely convinced F. S.‡ was an ill

* Sir Thomas Sheridan, who died shortly after his arrival at Rome.

† George Kelly. ‡ Francis Strickland.

1746. man, by a circumstance your Majesty mentions to me of him. I have never shown to any body your Majesty's letters, but to the Duke, as I ought to have mentioned before; and for this last I have not shown it to him, as also not this answer. I do nothing without consulting my dear brother; and when I happen to do contrary to his opinion, it is entirely of my own head, and not by any body's else advice, for I can assure your Majesty I myself trust no body more than I do him, as, with reason, I tell him every thing I can: but I am afraid some people have given him a bad opinion of me, for I suppose I must own he does not open his heart to me. I shall always love him, and be united with him. Whatever he does to me, I will always tell him face to face what I think for his good, let him take it well or ill. I know him to be a little lively, not much loving to be contradicted; but I also know and am sensible of his love and tenderness for me in particular beyond expression, and of his good heart in general. Your Majesty cannot imagine what trouble I am at about trifles, which I cannot avoid without neglecting my duty — which I hope will never be the case. I am in hopes I shall be able soon to send to your Majesty a person of trust, — and it would be of consequence nobody should know of it; so that he should carry my dispatches, and I receive your orders without its being known he carried them. In the meantime I can say no more; and so remain, with all respect, asking blessing, your most dutiful son, CHARLES P.

P. S. — I hope your Majesty will excuse the freedom with which I write this letter, as also the liberty I take to assure you that whatever I say to you will never proceed from partiality or pique, but plainly what I think. I suppose O'Brien has already given an account to you of what pains I am at, and what has been done concerning the poor Scotch. I told Marquis d'Argenson t'other day how sensible I was at the King's goodness for what he has done for them, and that I would go, if necessary, upon my knees for them; but that I would never ask any thing for myself; for I came only in this country to do what I could for my poor country, and not for myself. The

said Marquis answered, that it was his Christian Majesty's intention to give to as many as came over, and that I should only give a list, and it would be continued; and I upon that most earnestly thanked his Most Christian Majesty, when I had the pleasure of seeing him t'other day, and must do him the justice in saying, he was extremely civil to us, as also all his family. O'Sullivan showed me the letter your Majesty did him the honour to write to him. I cannot let slip this occasion to do him justice by saying I really think he deserves your Majesty's favour. Townly is not the discreetest man upon earth. He was making a rout, that he, being the only Englishman, was neglected, when all the rest got something or another. I was plagued with him several times on that strain. At last I stopped his mouth, having the good luck to get for him the Croix de St. Louis. I suppose you have been already informed of it. I do not mention so many trifles of that kind, supposing others supply for me in that. I am in hopes poor Cardinal Acquaviva will escape this bout, for I believe him to be a good friend of ours. 1747.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

*(Extract.)*

*Paris, January* 16. 1747.

In reality I do not doubt of the honesty of those about me, though they may not have all the capacity in the world. I find it now-a-days so rare to find an honest man, that any that has given me proofs of being so (unless your Majesty orders me, or I find I am deceived by any of them on any the least trifle) I would part with them with a sore heart. Notwithstanding I offered to my dear brother, that any one, or all about me, that he had a disgust for, I would dismiss, to make him easy; to which he assured me he had no dislike for anybody, and did not want any such thing. He does not open his heart to me, and yet I perceive he is grieved, which must proceed from malicious people

1747. putting things in his head, and preventing him against me. Notwithstanding I am persuaded he loves me tenderly, which is the occasion of my grief. God Almighty grant us better days. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing.

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS BROTHER.

(*Extract.*)

*Avignon, February* 9. 1747.

I MUST now tell you, dear brother, that even in Scotland I formed a project of going myself to the Court of Spain. I left Paris with that intention, which I am resolved to pursue, and would not ask leave for fear of being refused; and propose to go and return, if necessary, with all the privacy imaginable. I shall despatch O'Sullivan to inform the King of it, and of every step I have taken since my coming to France.

I now send to entreat you, by all the ties of brotherly affection, not to think of starting from Paris.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

(*Extract.*)

*Guadalaxara, March* 12. 1747.

SIR,

I BELIEVE your Majesty will be as much surprised as I am to find that no sooner arrived, I was hurried away without so much

as allowing me time to rest. I thought there were not such fools as the French Court, but I find it here far beyond it. Your Majesty must forgive me if I speak here a little out of humour, for an angel would take the spleen on this occasion. Notwithstanding you will find I behaved towards them with all the respect and civility imaginable, doing, *à la lettre*, whatever they required of me, to give them not the least reason of complaining of me, and by that putting them entirely *dans leur tort*. I shall now begin my narration of all that has passed since my arrival in this country. 1747.

For to arrive with the greater secrecy and diligence, so that this Court should not hear of me until I let them know it, I took post at Perpignan, with Vaughan and Cameron, the rest not being able to ride, and not to be so many together. I arrived at Barcelona, and finding that, by the indiscretion of some of our own people (which the town happened then to be full of) it was immediately spread I was there; this hindered me to wait here for the rest of my people coming up, as I intended, and made me take the resolution to leave even those that had come there with me, for the greater blind and expedition, and to take along with me one Colonel Nagle, who had been with the Duke of Ormond.

I arrived at Madrid the 2d inst., and addressed myself immediately to Geraldine, Sir Charles Wogan being at his government; and it happened better so, for I find they are not well together, and Geraldine is all in all with the ministers. I gave him immediately a letter for Caravajal, which inclosed one for the King, of which I send here a copy; this was the channel he advised me to go by. Upon that I got an appointment with the said minister; and he carried me to him in his coach, with a great many ridiculous precautions, for I find all here like the pheasants, that it is enough to hide their heads to cover the rest of the body, as they think. After I made Caravajal many compliments, I asked him that I supposed he had delivered my letter to the King, and had received his orders what I should do? To which he said he had not, telling me it was better he should not give it, and that I should go back immediately; that he was very

1747. sorry the situation of affairs was such, that he advised me to do so. This he endeavoured to persuade me to by several nonsensical reasons. I answered them all, so that he had nothing in the world to say, but that he would deliver my letter. I told him that my sudden resolution of coming here was upon one of my friends coming just before I parted from Paris to me, from the rest, assuring me that they were ready as much as ever, if they had the assistance necessary, to allow them time to come to a head; at the same time expressing what a conceit that nation had for the Spaniards' good inclinations, and how popular it would be for me to take a jaunt in that country, out of gratitude for all they had endeavoured to do for us; that I could be back at any event for any expedition of effect, for that, with reason, none could be undertook till the month of April or May. I added to that my personal inclinations, which hit with theirs. I parted, after all compliments were over, and was never in the world more surprised than when Caravajal himself came at the door of the *auberge* I was lodged in, at eleven at night and a half, to tell me that the King wanted to see me immediately. I went instantly, and saw the King and Queen together, who made me a great many civilities, but, at the same time, desiring me to go back as soon as possible; that, unluckily, circumstances of affairs required so at present; that nothing in the world they desired more than to have the occasion of showing me proofs of their friendship and regard. (One finds in old histories, that the greatest proofs of showing such things are to help people in distress; but this, I find, is not now *à la mode*, according to the French fashion.) I asked the King leave, in the first place, to see the Queen Dowager, and the rest of the Royal Family, to which he answered, there was no need to do it. Upon my repeating again how mortifying it would be for me, at least, not to make my respects to the old Queen, to thank her for her goodness towards us, he said I might speak of that to Caravajal. I found by that he had got his lesson, and was a weak man, just put in motion like a clock-work. At last, after many respectful compliments, and that the chief motive of my coming was to thank his Majesty for all the services his Royal Family had done

for ours, at the same time to desire the continuation of them; (to which he said, if occasion offered, he would even do more;) after that, I asked him, for not to trouble him longer, which was the minister he would have me speak to of my affairs, and of what I wanted? to which he said, that he had an entire confidence in Caravajal, and that to him alone I might speak as to himself. I spoke then, that Caravajal might hear, that there was nobody that could be more acceptable to me than him: says I, in laughing, he is half an Englishman, being called Lancaster. I parted; and who does I make out at the door but Farinelli*; who took me by the hand with effrontery. I first thought, as with reason, it was some Grandee, or Captain of the Guards, that had seen me in Italy, and was never so much surprised as when he named himself, saying that he had seen me formerly, which he was sure I could not remember. 1747.

From thence I went in the Minister's apartment, and staid some time with him; but I perceived immediately that he *batté'd la campagne*, and concluded nothing to the purpose, but pressing me ardently to go out of the town and away immediately. I told him, though I had made a long journey, notwithstanding being young and strong, I would be ready to go away that very same night; but that, if he cared to assist me in the least, he must allow me a little time to explain and settle things with him, that if he pleased, I would be next day with him again. He agreed to that, but that absolutely it was necessary, to do a pleasure to the King, I should part the day after. I went to him as agreed upon, and brought a note of what I was to speak to him about, which, after explaining, I gave to him a copy of which I inclose here, along with the answer he made before me, in writing, which seems to me not to say much. He pressed me again to part next day. I represented it was an impossibility, in a manner, for me to go before any of my people coming up. At last he agreed to send along with me Sir Thomas Geraldine, as far as Guadalaxara, where I might wait for my family.

We parted, loading one another with compliments.

* The celebrated singer and *soprano*.

1747.

## PRINCE CHARLES TO LORD CLANCARTY.

*Paris, March* 26. 1747.

I THOUGHT it proper to come back again in this country (but intend to keep myself absolutely in private), as the season is now favourable to make another attempt, and to bring these people here to reason if possible. On our side we must leave no stone unturned, and leave the rest to Providence. If you have any thing to let me know of, you have only to write to me under cover to young Waters, who will always know where to find me. At present I have nothing more particular to add, so remain, assuring you anew of my constant regard and friendship.

CHARLES P. R.

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## S—— TO MR. MURRAY (LORD DUNBAR).

*Paris, April* 15. 1747.

MY LORD,

AN Irish cordelier, called Kelly, who gives himself out for the Prince's confessor, has distributed in this town an infamous paper, entitled a Sonnet on the Death of a Caledonian Bear, and has been indiscreet enough to publish that his Majesty has been of late troubled with vapours, which have affected his judgment, and that your Lordship governs him despotically; in fine, he has said that the King is a fool, and that you are a knave. As he is known to have access to his Royal Highness, his discourse has produced very bad effects; people imagine that the Prince contemns his father. I am persuaded he does not deserve that censure. It were to be wished, however, that his Royal Highness would forbid that friar his apartment, because he passes for a notorious drunkard. The opinion prevails here that the cordeliers in general are great drinkers, yet even among them this

Kelly is infamous for his excesses; in fine, the wine of the Prince's table is termed friar Kelly's wine; and the same person who governs his conscience is said to regulate his diversions, and his Royal Highness's character in point of sobriety has been a little blemished on this friar's account. 1747.

I am your Lordship's, &c.

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## THE PRETENDER TO PRINCE CHARLES.

*Albano, June* 13. 1747.

I KNOW not whether you will be surprised, my dearest Carluccio, when I tell you that your brother will be made a Cardinal the first day of next month. Naturally speaking, you should have been consulted about a resolution of that kind before it had been executed; but, as the Duke and I were unalterably determined on the matter, and that we foresaw you might probably not approve of it, we thought it would be showing you more regard, and that it would be even more agreeable to you, that the thing should be done before your answer could come here, and to have it in your power to say, it was done without your knowledge and approbation. It is very true I did not expect to see the Duke here so soon, and that his tenderness and affection for me prompted him to undertake that journey; but after I had seen him, I soon found that his chief motive for it was to discourse with me fully and freely on the vocation he had long had to embrace an ecclesiastical state, and which he had so long concealed from me and kept to himself, with a view, no doubt, of having it in his power of being of some use to you in in the late conjunctures. But the case is now altered; and, as I am fully convinced of the sincerity and solidity of his vocation, I should think it a resisting the will of God, and acting directly against my conscience, if I should pretend to constrain him in a matter which so nearly concerns him. The maxims I have bred you up in and have always followed, of not constraining others in

1747. matters of religion, did not a little help to determine me on the present occasion, since it would be a monstrous proposition that a King should be a father to his people and a tyrant to his children. After this, I will not conceal from you, my dearest Carluccio, that motives of conscience and equity have not alone determined me in this particular; and that, when I seriously consider all that has passed in relation to the Duke for some years bygone, had he not had the vocation he has, I should have used my best endeavours, and all arguments, to have induced him to embrace that state. If Providence has made you the elder brother, he is as much my son as you, and my paternal care and affection are equally to be extended to you and him; so that I should have thought I had greatly failed in both towards him, had I not endeavoured by all means to secure to him, as much as in me lay, that tranquillity and happiness which I was sensible it was impossible for him to enjoy in any other state. You will understand all that I mean without my enlarging further on this last so disagreeable article; and you cannot, I am sure, complain that I deprive you of any service the Duke might have been to you, since you must be sensible that, all things considered, he would have been useless to you remaining in the world. But let us look forward, and not backward. The resolution is taken, and will be executed before your answer to this can come here. If you think proper to say you were ignorant of it, and do not approve it, I shall not take it amiss of you; but, for God's sake, let not a step, which naturally should secure peace and union amongst us for the rest of our days, become a subject of scandal and *éclat*, which would fall heavier upon you than upon us in our present situation, and which a filial and brotherly conduct in you will easily prevent. Your silence towards your brother, and what you writ to me about him since he left Paris, would do you little honour if they were known, and are mortifications your brother did not deserve, but which cannot alter his sentiments towards you. He now writes to you a few lines himself, but I forbid him entering into any particulars, since it would be giving himself and you an useless trouble after all I have said about him here.

You must be sensible that on many occasions I have had reason to complain of you, and that I have acted for this long while towards you more like a son than a father. But I can assure you, my dear child, nothing of all that sticks with me, and I forgive you the more sincerely and cordially all the trouble you have given me, that I am persuaded it was not your intention to fail towards me, and that I shall have reason to be pleased with you for the time to come, since all I request of you hereafter is your personal love and affection for me and your brother. Those who may have had their own views in endeavouring to remove us from your affairs have compassed their end. We are satisfied, and you remain master; so that I see no bone of contention remaining, nor any possible obstacle to a perfect peace and union amongst us for the future. God bless my dearest Carluccio, whom I tenderly embrace. I am all yours, 1747-60.

JAMES R.

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## PRINCE CHARLES TO MR. BULKELEY.

*Paris, October* 31. 1748.

I HAVE just seen your letter to Kelly, and am truly sensible of your zeal, but have nothing more to say on that subject, but that *quod dixi, dixi, et quod scripsi, scripsi.*

C. P.

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## FROM SCRAPS, IN PRINCE CHARLES'S WRITING.

*Paris*, 1748.

JE suis en peine surtout pour Louis, comme je ne peux que perdre la vie, mais Louis l'honneur.

Louis se plaint que Charles veut lui donner des lois. Je ne veux pas, dit Charles, recevoir des lois qui viennent d'Hanovre. Mais ne dites pas que c'est moi, n'étant pas même ministre.

Je ne suis pas un ministre; un mot doit vous suffire si vous êtes mon ami.

1775-80.

IN CHARLES'S WRITING.

*About* 1760.

De vivre et pas vivre est beaucoup plus que de mourir.

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IN CHARLES'S WRITING.

1775—1780.

Reponse qu'un homme fit à son ami qui lui conta que sa maîtresse était infidèle par vengeance. Est-ce, dit-il, pour l'avoir trop aimé, ou trop peu? En tout cas la vengeance est douce.

Pour les hommes, je les étudie, et à quatre-vingt ans je serais peut-être moins savant qu'à cette heure; mais pour les femmes, je l'ai toujours cru inutile, comme plus méchant et impénétrable.

# EXTRACTS

FROM

## THE HARDWICKE PAPERS,

FROM

## COXE'S COLLECTIONS, &c.

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THE following letters of Bolingbroke to Lord Harcourt are amongst the papers at Nuneham, and have been communicated to me by the kindness of George G. Harcourt, Esq., M.P., since the publication of the second volume.

### LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD CHANCELLOR HARCOURT.

*Kensington, July* 19. 1714.

MY LORD,

THIS messenger comes to you by the Queen's command. Her Majesty desires you to be in town on Wednesday, as early as conveniently you can. Besides the Irish dispute, which some consideration must be had upon Thursday morning, there are too many other affairs of consequence now on foot to dispense with your Lordship's absence. 1714.

I beg your Lordship's answer by the messenger, who has orders to return with all possible speed, and am my Lord, &c.

P. S. — Pray my Lord be punctual, and bring back with you a more sanguine disposition than you left town with; at least, don't fancy that the Queen and all the rest of us are to be the slaves of him*, who was raised by the favour of the former, and the friendship of the latter.

* Lord Oxford.

1723—5.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD HARCOURT.

*London, July* 26. 1723.

My Lord,

I think it a case of conscience to interrupt your Lordship in the enjoyment of the pleasures of the country, which you love so well, and can follow so little. But a return of my fever, which Dr. Mead hopes he has stopped by the bark, makes me in haste to be going for Aix, where he thinks I may promise myself to find a radical cure for this ill habit of body.

There are some other reasons which are fortified to my apprehension since your Lordship left us, that incline me to go away about Thursday or Friday sevennight, which time is later than that your Lordship set for your return. If, by any accident, your return should be deferred, I must beg leave to wait on you in the country, or desire you to give me a meeting, where it may be least inconvenient to your Lordship, on the road, for I cannot think of leaving England without embracing the person, to whom I owe the obligation of having seen it once more. I will not descend into any particulars at present, but I cannot help saying that I see some clouds rise which it is certainly much more easy to hinder from gathering than to dispel when gathered. I am, and shall be in all circumstances of life, and in all the countries of the world, my Lord,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

Bolingbroke.

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LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD HARCOURT.

*Dawley Farm, March* 22. 1725.

My Lord,

Whilst I am here troubling myself very little about any thing beyond the extent of my farm, I am the subject of some conversations in town, which one would not have expected. I

will mention one of these to your Lordship. Arthur Moore has, in two several companies, answered persons who were inquisitive, whether my attainder would be repealed in this session, by saying that it could not be imagined the Government would do anything in my favour, whilst I was caballing against it with Mr. Pulteney. If this report was to be thrown into the world, Arthur Moore might, with a better grace, have left it to be propagated by some other emissary; and if it be designed as an excuse for leaving me in my present condition, than which none more cruel can be invented, I do assure your Lordship that the excuse shall not stand good. 1725.

I have very much esteem for Mr. Pulteney. I have met with great civility from him, and shall, on all occasions, behave myself towards him like a man who is obliged to him. But, my Lord, I have had no private correspondence, or even conversation with him, and whenever I appeal to the King, and beg leave to plead my cause before him, I will take care that his ministers shall not have the least pretence of objection to make to me in any part of my conduct. I will only say upon this occasion, that if I had caballed against them, there would have been other things said than were said, and another turn of opposition given. I dare say your Lordship acquits me upon this head, but I do not know whether you will so easily forgive me the length of this letter upon so trifling a subject.

Do, in this matter, what you think proper; perhaps you will mention it to my Lord Privy Seal*, as I shall, when I have the honour of seeing him.

My return to London will depend on the arguing my plea in Chancery, and that cannot be long delayed.

I am faithfully, &c. &c.

BOLINGBROKE.

* Lord Trevor.

1732.

## BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. HAY (LORD INVERNESS), ON HIS ABJURATION OF THE PROTESTANT FAITH.

[This letter has no date, but is endorsed "March 3. 1732," the day it was received, and must have been written very shortly before Atterbury's death (Feb. 15.), so that, in all probability, it was the last letter composed by that highly gifted man. I have alluded to this letter in my second volume, p. 220.; but I find that it is quite unknown to many of my readers, it being only printed in a fly-leaf prefixed to the third volume of Atterbury's Correspondence, and not inserted in all the copies of that publication. I am therefore induced to reprint it.]

My Lord,

About the beginning of December last I wrote to your Lordship, and sent you a paper which I had lately printed here.* To that letter, though your Lordship used to answer all mine without delay, I had no manner of return. I heard, indeed, soon after I had written to you, of what had happened on St. Andrew's day last at Avignon†, but I did not think a change of religion made any change in the forms of civility; and therefore I still wondered at your silence. Perhaps a reflection on your not having consulted me in that great affair, though I was the only Bishop of the Church of England on this side the water, might make you very shy of writing to me on any other account, and willing to drop the correspondence. You may remember, my Lord, that when you first retired from the King at Pisa, and when you afterwards left Rome and went to Avignon; on both these occasions, you opened to me by letter the reason of your conduct, and gave me an opportunity by that means of expressing my thoughts to you, in the manner I used always to do, that is, frankly and without reserve. In this last step, my Lord, you have acted far otherwise; and yet in this I had most reason to expect that you would not merely have informed me of what had passed, but even consulted me before you took your full and final resolution. My character and course of studies qualified me much better for such an application, than for passing my judgment in matters of state and political managements. If your

* Vindication of Lord Clarendon's Editors.

† Lord Inverness renouncing the Protestant, and embracing the Roman Catholic religion.

Lordship entertained any doubts concerning your safety in that religion wherein you had been bred, I might, perhaps, upon your proposing them, have been so happy as to have solved them, and shown you that whatever reason you might have, as to this world, for quitting the communion you were of, you had none, you could have none, as to another. 1732.

Since you were not pleased to give me an occasion of writing to you at this time, I have determined to take it, and to pursue my former method of telling you with such plainness as perhaps nobody else will, what the world says of your late conduct.

My Lord, they who speak of it most softly, and with greatest regard to your Lordship, say that it is a *coup de désespoir;* and that your Lordship, perceiving the prejudices of the King's Protestant subjects to run high against you, so that you would never be suffered to be about his person and in the secret of his affairs with their consent, was resolved to try what could be done by changing sides, and whether you might not, at the long run, be able to gain by one party what you had lost by another. They represent you as thinking the King's restoration not soon likely to happen; and therefore as resolved, since you were obliged to live in exile in Roman Catholic countries, to make the best of your circumstances, and recommend yourself, as much as you could, to the natives; that so, if his cause should prove desperate for a time, you might find your way back again into his service, when it would no longer be reckoned prejudicial to his affairs. And they quote some words, which they say fell from your Lordship, to this purpose: "That since you saw nothing was likely to be "done for the King, you thought it high time to take care of "your soul." I hope in God they belie you, since it gives us, who are at a distance from the secret of affairs, but a very discouraging prospect of the King's restoration, of the probability or improbability of which you, my Lord, must be allowed a more competent judge. And withal, such a saying carries in it something more dishonourable to your Lordship, since it implies, that, had the restoration been near and probable, you would not have troubled your head about matters of religion, but suffered your soul to shift for itself. They who thus interpret your last

1732. step, proceed further, and say, that you intended by that means, if you could not find your way again into the general and open management of the King's affairs, at least to have that part of them attached to you, which related to foreign princes' Courts, to whom what you had done must have rendered you grateful; and thus, while your brother-in-law should have the care of the domestic correspondence, and you all the rest, the whole would have run in proper channels. They affirm, that even upon your first coming back to the King from Pisa, there was a general expectation at Rome, encouraged by the Court of Rome itself, that you would then have declared yourself a Roman Catholic, and that it was prevented only by the representations made at that time to your disadvantage from the King's friends, which occasioned your abrupt retreat to Avignon: and they suppose some private audiences you had at that time tended to this point; that happened then to be defeated, and the declaration itself was postponed to a more convenient opportunity. This, indeed, clashes a little with the former scheme mentioned. God forbid I should suppose either of them! I do not; I merely relate them, and having done so, leave it to your Lordship to make such use of them as you, in your wisdom, shall judge proper.

There are others, my Lord, that reflect on your conduct still more unkindly, and put it in a more odious light; there are those (nor are they few) who are so prejudiced against you as to suppose (for none of them have pretended to prove) that you have played the same game as my Lord Mar did, had a secret understanding with the Ministers on the other side, and received the reward of it; these men, being, as they are, your professed enemies, stick not to say, that since you could not any longer derive merit to yourself from your management near the King, you were resolved to do as much mischief as you could to his affairs at parting, by an action which naturally tended to raise, in the minds of his Protestant subjects, such disadvantageous opinions of him as I need not explain, such as of all others will have the greatest influence toward hindering his restoration. They consider your Lordship as one that has studied your master's temper, and perfectly knows it; as one that never did

any thing but what you judged would be perfectly agreeable to him; nothing but with his privity and by his direction. In this light, my Lord, when they see what you have lately done, it is no wonder if they draw strange inferences from it, and impute to your Lordship views which your heart, I hope, abhors. But they will certainly persist in that way of thinking, if they find that your Lordship has still credit with the King, and a share in his confidence; and this, even at this distance, my Lord, will, in a little time, appear to watchful observers. They say it is a sure rule, not to do that which our worst enemies, provided they are wise and understand their own interest, would above all things have us do; and yet your Lordship, they think, has acted after that manner on the present occasion, there being nothing that could either gratify your enemies more, or displease your friends (such, I mean, as are also enemies and friends to the Royal cause), than the step you have taken; and they will not believe, but that if you had meant the King as well as you ought to do, this single consideration would have restrained you. They urge, that the difficulties into which the King is brought by this means, are exceeding great. Let him be ever so well persuaded of your abilities, integrity, and zeal; he yet cannot make a free use of them, without exciting new jealousies, on very tender points, and in very honest hearts, where one would wish that they might, by all possible means, be allayed. Let him have been ever so much a stranger to what passed at Avignon till it was over, he cannot yet prudently declare himself on that head, because of the inconveniences with which such a declaration, in his present circumstances, will be attended on the one side, as his total silence will be liable to misconstructions, on the other: every way this affair will perplex him with respect to the different interests he has separately to manage. Abroad, if he were thought to be at the bottom of it, it might do him no harm; at home it certainly will, and there his great interest lies, to which he is, above all others, to attend. Nor will the judgment be passed on this occasion in haste, since it cannot be formed on any thing now given out, but will depend on future facts and appearances. 1732.

1732. I have made little mention all this while of what your Lordship may think a full answer to all these reflections and refinements, that you have followed a motion of conscience in what you have done, and depended on that for your justification. It may, my Lord, and I hope will, justify you before God, if you sincerely acted on that principle; but as for men, the misfortune is (and I beg your Lordship's pardon for venturing to tell you so), that not one person whom I have seen or heard of, will allow what you have done to be the effect of conviction. In that case, they say, you would have proceeded otherwise than merely by advising with those into whose communion you were hastening; especially since it is supposed that your Lordship has not spent much time in qualifying yourself for the discussion of such points by a perusal of books of controversy. Men, they say, of sincerity and truth, are often kept in a religion to which they have been accustomed, without enquiring strictly into the grounds of it; but seldom any man, who has a sense of piety and honour, quits a religion in which he has been educated, without carefully considering what may be said for and against it. Men, indeed, may be sometimes enlightened and convinced of all at once by an over-ruling impression from above. But, as these cases are exceeding rare, so I need not tell your Lordship that in yours, they that object to your proceedings are by no means disposed to make you such allowances. They think that had you aimed only at satisfying your conscience, you might have done what you did in a more private manner, and enjoyed the benefit of it in secret, without giving a public and needless alarm; but, when you chose St. Andrew's day for entering on the work, Christmas day for completing it, and the Pope's Inquisitor at Avignon to receive your abjuration, they conclude that you intended to make an *éclat*, and to give notice to all the world of your embracing a different communion; which might be useful, indeed, with regard to some political views, but could not be necessary toward satisfying those of mere conscience.

These, my Lord, are the reflections which have been made in various conversations, where I was present, on the subject of what lately passed at Avignon. Many of them cannot be more

unwelcome to you than they are to me, who suffer in a cause which such steps are far from promoting. I am mortified, my Lord, to see it thus go backward, instead of forward, and have a right to express my own free sense in such a case, though I have, in this letter, chiefly represented the sense of others; losers must have leave to speak, and therefore I make no apology for the freedom I have taken. You seem to have approved it on other occasions; and will not, I hope, blame it on this, when it is equally intended for your information and service. At the distance we are now, and are likely to continue, I know not how to offer a better proof of the regard with which I am, my Lord, &c. 1739.

FR. ROFFEN.

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## THE PRETENDER TO MR. T. CARTE.

[Walpole Papers and Coxe's Copies, vol. lii. It is thus endorsed in Sir Robert Walpole's own hand-writing. "This original letter, written to Mr. "Thomas Carte, when at Rome, and given to him, was delivered to me by the "said Mr. Thomas Carte, September 15. 1739, together with the heads" (of a plan of government.)]

*Rome, July* 10. 1739.

THE message you bring could not but appear very singular and extraordinary to me, because you deliver it only from second hand, and that I have no sort of proof of your being authorised by the person in question, who cannot but feel that it is natural for me to mistrust what may come from him. It may be, and I hope it is, the case, that he wishes me and my cause well, and I am sensible it may be greatly in his power to serve both. If he hath really my interest at heart, let him send to me some trusty friend and confidant of his, to explain to me his sentiments and views, and if he pursues measures which manifestly tend to my restoration, I shall be persuaded of his sincerity, and shall consider and reward him after my restoration, in proportion to the

1740. share he may have had in bringing it about. But whatever may or may not be in this matter, I have no difficulty in putting it in your power to satisfy him authentically on the two articles about which he is solicitous, since, independent of his desires, I am fully resolved to protect and secure the Church of England according to the reiterated promises I have made to that effect, and shall be ready, after my restoration, to give all reasonable security which a fresh parliament can ask of me for that end. As for the Princes of the House of Hanover, I thank God I have no resentment against them, nor against any one living. I shall never repine at their living happily in their own country, after I am in possession of my kingdoms, and should they fall into my power upon any attempt for my restoration, I shall certainly not touch a hair of their heads. I thought it proper to explain in this manner my sentiments on these heads, not absolutely to neglect an occurrence which may be of great importance, if well grounded, and if otherwise, no inconvenience can arise from what I have here said.

JAMES R.

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## LORD DESKFORD TO MARQUIS VISCONTI.

*Hanover, December* 26. 1740.

UPON my arrival here last week, I had the pleasure to find yours of the 3d December, which had lain here for some time, I having made my stay at Berlin longer than I at first intended, being willing to see as much as possible, and to form as just a notion as I could of the character of that young ambitious Prince *, who is like to act a part of so much importance in Europe. He certainly has many qualities worthy of praise. His activity and application to business is surprising; his secrecy commendable. He has a vivacity too and a liveliness of thought

* Frederick the Second.

with a justness of expression, that is uncommon. But his thoughts seem rather of the brilliant, than of the solid, kind; and, even in common things, one sees him daily take a resolution, and execute it in a moment. His fire appears too great to let him have time to weigh the difficulties that may attend it; and the idea he has of the superiority of his own parts, creates in him a presumption which makes him contemn and act almost in every thing without counsel. The insinuations of M. Podweis, who is remarkable for his attachment to France, are said, sometimes, to have some effect. Field-Marshal Schwerin is the man in his service whom he esteems the most; but if the King of Prussia's genius and parts would make him estimable if they were joined with common integrity, they make him more detestable and dangerous, when we consider what a villainous heart they are directed by. His falsehood and want of faith is well known to you at Vienna. I wish to God you had not trusted him so long: neither could I find that he was possessed of any one *qualité de cœur* that was not detestable. He is avaricious to a great degree, but has an avarice subordinate to his governing passion—ambition. He seems incapable of friendship, and his ingratitude is surprising. I shall only give you two instances of it. Two young gentlemen, captains in the Prussian service, after having dissuaded him from the attempt, were at last induced, by solicitations, to expose their lives and fortunes in endeavouring to assist him to make his escape when he was seized. Luckily for them they got off. The one went into the Dutch service, and, at the death of the late King of Prussia, had risen to be a captain of horse there. This King, upon his accession to the crown, writ for him, and offered him a pension of 1,000 dollars, if he would come and settle at Berlin. The gentleman's answer was, that he had very near twice as much by his commission in Holland, and he flattered himself that his Majesty would not desire one, whose attachment to him had made him expose his life in his service, to make so disadvantageous a change. The King said he could do no more for him, and so let him go back into Holland, I believe, without paying his journey. The other gentleman retired into England, where,

1740.

1741. being a foreigner, he could not be employed; but he there obtained letters of recommendation to the general who is at the head of the troops in Portugal, and who, as soon as he arrived at Lisbon, granted him the commission of Major of Horse. The King of Prussia, likewise, upon his accession to the crown, wrote to him, who did not balance a moment, but immediately laid down his commission, and set out for Berlin. Since his arrival there, the King has given him the *brevet* of Lieutenant-Colonel, and made him Ecuyer, with 1,300 crowns pension, which is not half so much as he had by his commission in the Portuguese service. He had likewise a small estate, which the late King of Prussia confiscated, and gave to the recruiting cash. The King, instead of restoring to him the revenues of so many years, which, upon his account, he had lost, still leaves it addicted to the recruiting cash, and retains it from him. Base ingratitude! When I join this with his unexampled falsehood and shocking breach of faith to your Queen, there is nothing so villainous, nothing so bad, that this Prince does not seem to me capable of doing. He has deceived you once at Vienna. I flatter myself your Court will not be weak enough to let Gotter deceive you again.

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## MR. ROBINSON TO LORD HARRINGTON.

[Grantham Papers, and Coxe's Copies.]

*Presburg, September* 20. 1741.

THE inclosed is the speech the Queen made on the 11th instant to her Hungarian Diet. They answered, *vitam et sanguinem!* The Diet, it is thought, will break up this week, after which the Queen, it is presumed, will remove for some time to Raab, and afterwards to Pesth, over against Buda. There are as little conveniences in the one as the other place for the Court. I shall follow as close and as well as I can in this almost

desert and unprovided country, till I am honoured with the King's orders. 1741—2.

Mr. Dunant has orders to send, while Vienna is open, all the particulars of the dispositions making there for a good defence. The Archduke * is still in Vienna.

The Chancellor says that there is no safety left for Europe, but an immediate and vigorous diversion in Flanders.

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## MR. ROBINSON TO MR. WESTON.

*Presburg, October* 9. 1741.

We have no place yet fixed for our winter residence. Vienna we cannot certainly return to, siege or not; this place is not secure in case of a siege there; Raab is too little; Buda too unwholesome. In the meanwhile I have neither house nor home. Unless you have some scheme on the anvil to save us, I do not see that you can long have occasion for a minister to the Queen of Hungary. The *maladie du pays* comes very fast upon me.

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## MR. ARTHUR VILLETTE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

*Camp of the Concordia, July* 19. 1742.

I am informed on good authority, that when the news first came to Versailles, by a gentleman of Don Philip, that the Spanish galleys had been burnt, Cardinal Fleury clapped both his hands on his eyes, and kept them there for some time without uttering anything else but these words, *si mea credita trahunt*

* The Archduke, son of Maria Theresa, was then a child in arms; but the word is undoubtedly an error of the transcriber for the "Grand Duke," her husband, who had undertaken the defence of her capital.

1744. *me;* which he repeated more than once, and he said, that all M. Campo Florida said to incense him and excite him to resent such an indignity offered to the cannon of one of the French King's fortresses, produced no effect, and was received but very coldly.

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## SECRET INTELLIGENCE FROM ROME.

[Grantham Papers, and Coxe's Collection, vol. lii.]

*January* 25. 1744.

On the 19th instant, in the afternoon, the Pretender sent his favourite Dunbar to the Pope, to let him know that his eldest son set out from hence in the night of the 9th of this month, in order to go to France as secretly as possible, excusing himself that he had not sooner acquainted his Holiness with this, because he thought thus to prevent the umbrage of those who might have hoped to stop this motion.

The Austrian minister and the ambassador of Venice were immediately informed of this notice; and the former, in particular, towards the evening of that same day, sent away an express by the way of Florence, that an information of this might be given, both at the camp of Rimini and at the Court of Vienna. On the 20th, the Pretender being at dinner, he declared publicly this departure of his son to all his servants and others, adding, that at the time he was speaking, he thought that his son had reached the frontiers of France, upon which he received the congratulations of all that were present; and at night he was also congratulated by the ministers of France, of Spain, of the Court of Frankfort, and of all those that concern themselves for that family.

As to the manner of this departure, the following account may be depended upon. On the 7th instant was sent out of town publicly, the hunting equipage and the harness for the service of the two brothers. On the 8th, notice was given to all

those that were to be of their party, to set out at their ease in the conveniences that were assigned them. On the 9th, in the morning, the eldest son sent one of his servants to the Cardinal, Secretary of State, to beg of him to leave the keys of the gate of St. John with the officer of the guard, that he might not be obliged to wait till the hour that this gate is commonly opened at, he being desirous to go out that way for Cisterna, together with his brother, and that he wanted to get thither time enough to prepare every thing that was necessary for their hunting on the 11th, which request was complied with, so that he set out in the night of the 9th, a little after midnight, whilst his brother was asleep. He got into his own chaise with Dunbar, having no other followers than one of his grooms, who is a Norman, and who led another horse well saddled. Mr. Fitzmaurice, who was privy to the secret, was charged to tell the younger brother, when he should awake, that his brother, being excessively fond of hunting, had gone before, but that he would meet him at Albano, insomuch that the second son set out at the appointed hour, being 12 of the clock, according to the Italian way of reckoning, that is to say, at 6 in the morning on the 10th, having all the retinue with him. After the eldest son had gone a few posts, he begun to complain that he was cold, and said, that to warm himself he would get on horseback. This was concerted with Dunbar, to deceive the postilion that drove them and the servant that attended. Dunbar at first opposed his desire, but at last agreed to it, so that the other, being got on horseback, was followed by his Norman groom, who accompanied him afterwards during his whole voyage (this groom is thought to be a man of consequence, though he has been for some time in the service of that house upon the footing of a servant belonging to the stable); and thus being come with his servant to the turning of the road which goes to Frascati, he stopped there and waited for Dunbar's chaise. When it was come, he feigned that he had had a fall from his horse, and that he had hurt his foot, upon which Dunbar desired him to go into the chaise again, but he insisted upon his getting on horseback to go quicker, and instead of going to Albano, there to wait for his

1744.

1744. brother, he took the road of Marino, to go straight to Cisterna, saying that he should there take some hours of rest, and that Dunbar might go to Albano by himself, there to wait for his brother, and to tell him of his accident; that the other should not stop but go on to Cisterna; and thus staying with his faithful Norman alone at the turning, after Dunbar was gone on in the chaise, he and his groom took the road to Frascati, and having coasted along the Marana, they entered into the Consular Way, and then into the Florence road, from whence they went to Lerici and to Genoa, and then to Antibes, and that they did without any loss of time. In the meanwhile the Bailif de Tencin had dispatched on the 6th, with great secrecy, his intendant, to Paris, not only to give notice to the Court there of the resolution that was taken here about this departure, but also to make proper dispositions both at Lerici and at Genoa, for his embarkation under a feigned name.

The second son being come to Albano, and finding Dunbar there, asked him where his brother was. Dunbar told him at first of the pretended accident; but it is said that in private he acquainted him with the truth of the thing, and desired him to go on to Cisterna, and to talk of his brother's fall, and to say that he would soon come to him. He also desired that nobody should publish this accident, for fear it should come to the ears of his father. He ordered the company to begin their hunt, and to divert themselves in the best manner they could. Dunbar himself remained at Albano, and went on every day in giving to the Duke of Sermoneta, to whom Cisterna belongs, an account of the eldest brother's health, saying that he grew daily better and better, and desired the said Duke not to mention anything of this in the letters he writ to his friends at Rome, for fear it should come to the ears of the Pretender, but to say that the brothers had very good sport, and spent their time very well. The better to cover all this, the younger son sent some wild boars to Rome, in his brother's name and his, some of which were given as presents to the Pope, to Cardinal Acquaviva, and to other people. This feint lasted till the 17th instant, when a letter was sent to Cisterna, in the elder brother's name, to let

the company know that the weather being bad he did not care to go a hunting, and that he would go back to Rome, but that his brother might do what he pleased. Upon this Dunbar returned to Rome that very evening, with a young Englishman, son to one of the Pope's horse guards, who is about the same age with, and very like in the face to, the eldest son. Dunbar had had this young man dexterously brought to him at Albano: there were also come thither two servants of the second son, from Cisterna, who went back to Rome with Dunbar; so it was reported in town that the eldest son was come back. 1744.

It is said in the best companies here, that some days before the setting out of the eldest son, Cardinal Acquaviva had desired Abbot Franchini, Minister of Tuscany, to grant him a passport for a certain Marquis Spinelli, his kinsman, who wanted to go to Genoa for his own business, which passport was immediately given at his request. It is also said that M. de Thürm, at the desire of the forementioned Abbot, had given some letters of recommendation to the supposed Marquis. I can't say whether this is true or no, but I much question that these gentlemen should have been deceived by all the management of this affair. They seemed to believe that the Court of Paris had no thoughts of this young man, and gave out such reasons for it that appeared very natural; but perhaps they did this to disgust other people from hearkening to any accounts that should be given of this undertaking.

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## SIR THOMAS ROBINSON TO MR. WESTON.

*Vienna, September* 16. *N. S.* 1744.

DEAR SIR,

THE last post brought no letters from England. We have Prince Charles * himself here; a better testimony of all that passed upon the banks of the Rhine than either Noailles's relation to his Court, or the Emperor's fourteen postilions at Frank-

* Prince Charles of Lorraine.

1744. fort. Don Rodrigue, of Cologne, has inserted the inclosed relation of it in the Brussels Gazette, and Königseck Erps printed it, I hear, for the particular edification of those who had been surprised with the French accounts.

I do not doubt but you will hear of many *such* victories from Bohemia, though perhaps preceded with the *real* news of the loss of Prague. That loss will fall heavy upon the poor inhabitants, but it will be the triumph, perhaps the conflagration, of a day; after which the Prussians must look to themselves. *He* is supposed to have said, upon the news of Prince Charles's return, and the manner in which the French let his Highness pass the river, *Voilà ce que c'est que de faire des traites avec des J——.* The French came to the Neckar, wondering the Duke of Wurtemberg would not join. "Prince Charles is so ruined he has not a grenadier left, and Bernclau is cut in the wood of Hagenau!" The Duke answered, that he had seen the Prince in good health two days before; that he had seen the whole army pass column by column, in the best order; that he had not perceived there was a grenadier wanting, and that, as for Bernclau, if they would be pleased to stay a little, they would find him returning back to teach them truth. Upon this the French retired, but not without threatening the Wurtembergers with corporal punishment, if they did not furnish the most exorbitant rations of all sorts. The Margrave of Baden has had the like compliments. The Court of Frankfort seems to have taken its iron sceptre into its hands. But I have the better opinion of things, as finding that they have never gone better for the good cause than at the very moment that the Court of Frankfort begins to be in spirits. So many illusions will at last open their eyes. I think I can prove by the poetical number *ter* the several distinct times that the French, the Imperialists, and the Prussians, have been for deceiving one another. Adieu, and believe me to be ever with *more* truth

Yours, &c.

T. Robinson.

* The King of Prussia.

1745.

## MR. P. H. CORNABÉ TO SIR THOMAS ROBINSON.

[Coxe's Collections, vol. cvi.]

*London, January* 25. 1745.

THE day before yesterday Sir William Yonge moved in the House of Commons that the 28,000 English in Flanders should be continued for the present year, and gave the principal reasons for it in few words, excusing himself upon his bad state of health. Mr. Winnington seconded him *pro formâ*, and hardly added anything to what the Secretary at War had said; then Mr. Powlett, Lord Hinton's brother, got up and proposed that the said troops should be continued for two months only, till the resolution of the Dutch should be known. Mr. Pelham, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, made a long discourse to show the necessity of carrying on the war with vigour, in order to attain to a good peace. Speaking of the Dutch, he said, he was afraid of saying too much or too little — too much for fear he should be thought to speak without foundation, too little because they had already given the most positive assurances of seconding the King's designs, and had given proofs of their sincerity by the remittances they had made to the Elector of Cologne and to the King of Poland: he showed the danger for Flanders in general, and for its maritime towns in particular; he entered into a great detail relating to the Queen of Hungary's and the King of Sardinia's present situation; in short he spoke for about an hour with an universal approbation, which was perceived in everybody's countenance.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynn gave Mr. Pelham great praise as to his abilities and his honesty; he said he was truly an English Minister, and that for that reason he would vote for this first time for the army, and that he did not doubt but all his friends would do the same, and that the whole nation would be unanimous in it, because we must all stand or fall together, there being no medium. Sir Roger Newdigate spoke much in the same manner, and made great encomium of the Chancellor of

1745. the Exchequer. Lord Strange, Lord Derby's son, was for adjourning the debate till Lord Chesterfield had finished his negociations: he talked *strangely* and was not minded.

Mr. Pitt made strong declarations of approving the measure proposed and supporting the new Ministry; he reflected on the late Secretary of State* in very severe terms; he recalled all the transactions of the three last years, and made his remarks upon them, finding fault with most things that were done; he made great compliments to Mr. Pelham and to Lord Chesterfield; insisted on the King's condescension in removing those that were grown obnoxious to his people; that out of gratitude, as well as for other reasons, the nation ought now to acquiesce in the desire of the Court; he took notice of the discredit in France, and of the good situation of the Queen of Hungary and our other Allies; of the King of Sardinia, he said that he was as immoveable as the rocks he so bravely defends; he spoke of himself as of a dying man, that came to the House purely to preserve the health of his country; he said, that for a good while he thought we were under great danger, but that now he saw a dawn, and would follow it in hopes it might bring us to salvation; he seemed extremely moved, used a good deal of gesture, employed all the figures of rhetoric, and made a great impression upon most that heard him.

Sir John Barnard vindicated Lord Granville, saying, that the last three years were the most glorious which England had seen since 1710, that that Lord's conduct would bear the strictest inquiries, and that he wished it might be examined by the House to convince people at home who were unjust to him, that all foreigners did him justice, and looked upon him as the ablest statesman we had; he grew quite warm upon this subject, and, recollecting himself, desired the indulgence of his hearers if he had gone too far.

Mr. Bowes of Durham, and Lord Barrington, took him up one after the other, desired he would move for an inquiry, and they would second him; they commended the new Ministry

* Earl Granville.

and their plan, which they called the Old Plan, supported by wise Englishmen. 1745.

Mr. Cholmondeley, a young gentleman of Cheshire, attempted to put off the debate, but nobody minded him: the question being put by the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Fane, there was no division; Lord Strange was the only one that put a negative against it, so that this may be looked upon like a perfect unanimity: the House was very full, there being above 400 Members. It is very observable, that not one word was said of Hanover in the whole debate; but I must not dissemble to you, that some severe reflections were made against the ministry at Vienna, that retained their old pride now they were a little elated, who insisted upon acquisitions, or at least equivalents, which could not be had but at the expense of the English nation, to whom they showed ingratitude, in not being more desirous of peace, and saving the treasures of the nation. It was a glorious day for Mr. Pelham, who had the praises of every body, and whose character was extolled beyond all those that ever were in his place. Mr. Pitt's eloquence was much commended, but it is thought he cannot live long; it is said that if he recovers and outlives Sir W. Yonge, he is to have the place of Secretary at War.

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## HON. PHILIP YORKE TO HORACE WALPOLE (THE ELDER).

*London, May* 4. 1745.

Dear Sir,

It is with the deepest concern I embrace so disagreeable an occasion of writing, as that of acquainting you that we have fought a battle to save Tournay, and lost it. *

The news came early this morning, and was soon public; for the detail of this bloody affair, we must wait the arrival of another messenger. What I have been able to learn is briefly thus:—

* The battle of Fontenoy.

1745. Our army was in sight of the enemy by 5 of the clock on Tuesday morning last; the attack of their entrenchments began about seven, and lasted till half an hour after one. The right wing (composed of English and Hanoverians) behaved most gallantly, and gained thrice ground upon the enemy, but were as often repulsed by the terrible fire of several entrenched batteries, which cannonaded them in front and flank without intermission, during the whole time. It is said the left, where the Dutch were, did not show the same ardour. The retreat of our right was made in good order by Sir John Ligonier, the French not pursuing a step, nor have we lost a pair of colours, but what is much worse, a great number of brave men. The brigade of Guards has suffered prodigiously: Col. Conway's company has but 24 men left; Gen. Ponsonby is killed; Sir J. Campbell has lost an arm; the Colonels Douglas (of our house), Gee, Kellet, Montague and Ross are amongst the slain; Lord Albemarle, Lord Ancram, and Lord Cathcart are wounded. The Duke's behaviour is much commended; he was in every part of the action, encouraging the men and leading them on. My brother, who attended upon him, has, thank God! escaped without a hurt. Of particular corps, it is said, the Highlanders, Guards, and Blues, distinguished themselves. What we know at present is very general and imperfect, both his Royal Highness's and Sir Everard's * letters being short; but they promise a larger account in a few days. The army is now under the cannon of Ath. I dread the consequences of this disastrous opening of the campaign, and doubt the French were more numerous and better fortified than we thought them. I should be content if Tournay may be the single fruit of their success.

It is said (but I do not know upon what grounds), that the coming up of a reinforcement, led by the Dauphin, turned the fortune of the day. Lord Dunmore and the officers who went with him had not joined the army.

I am, &c.

P. YORKE.

P.S. Lord Petersham is likewise wounded.

* Sir Everard Fawkener, Military Secretary.

1745.

## HON. PHILIP YORKE TO HORACE WALPOLE (THE ELDER).*

*London, May* 16. 1745.

DEAR SIR,

I SHOULD not have thought of replying upon you so soon, had you not invited me to it, by saying you expected from me a further account of the action; and had I done it sooner, it would not have been easy to have added any thing material or explicit to the first advices, which resemble always the confusion of the battle itself. One must stay till the smoke is a little cleared away, before one can take a distinct view of any object. I think you very right in your judgment, that the French were *only not beat.* Our repulse was owing, not to their bravery, but their advantageous situation and the number of their batteries, from which they had an hundred pieces of cannon or upwards playing upon us without intermission. Nay, even under these difficult circumstances, the opinion of the most intelligent is, that had Ingoldsby done his duty, and the Dutch infantry behaved as gallantly as ours, there was the greatest probability of our carrying the day. I wonder the former was not superseded on the spot, and that Zastrow, who was sent to him with orders, did not take the command of his brigade, and march directly to the fort, which the enemy were beginning to desert. We might then have turned their infernal engines of death upon the artificers themselves. The Duke's behaviour was, by all accounts, the most heroic and gallant imaginable. He was the whole day in the thickest of the fire. When he saw the ranks breaking, he rode up and encouraged the soldiers in the most moving and expressive terms; called them countrymen; that it was his highest glory to be at their head; that he scorned to expose them to more danger than he would be in himself; put them in mind of Blenheim and Ramillies; in short, I am con-

* Two extracts from this letter are already printed in Coxe's Memoirs of Pelham, vol. i. p. 235.

1745. vinced his presence and intrepidity greatly contributed to our coming off so well. Nor must I omit doing justice to Ligonier, who, the Duke writes, fought like a grenadier, and commanded like a general. His Royal Highness seems determined to keep up strict discipline, and drew out a pistol upon an officer whom he saw running away. Konigseck was run over and bruised by the Dutch cavalry in their flight, insomuch that when the army marched to Lessines, he was left at Ath. I have not heard, as yet, that the French plume themselves much upon their victory. Their accounts run in a modester strain than usual. It was certainly a dear-bought advantage. You see by the Gazette they have a great number of general officers killed and wounded; their loss of private men is said to be from 5,000 to 10,000. Ligonier writes that they confess it to be the latter, but whether he means the reports of deserters, or intelligence from the French camp, I cannot tell. We may thank Count Saxe for our ill fortune. It was he advised them to erect so many batteries, and to throw up entrenchments along part of their line, against the opinion of the rest of the council of war, who were for giving us battle *en rase campagne*. Perhaps you may not have heard that the French, who are generally reckoned a polite enemy, used the prisoners whom they took at Bruffoel with great brutality, stripping the wounded, driving away the surgeons, and taking from them their instruments and medical apparatus. Sir James Campbell died in their hands the next day. Doctor Wintringham was sent to visit him by the Duke, and found him lying in a cottage within the enemy's quarters, who had not been humane enough to give him any assistance. This has occasioned a pretty warm expostulation between the Duke and Marshal Saxe, who denies knowing or authorising the behaviour of their irregular troops at Bruffoel; but, by way of recrimination, accuses us of having first violated the cartel, by detaining Belle-isle.

The orders which the States have dispatched for their *corps de reserve* to join the army, and for trying the delinquents, alleviates the clamour which would otherwise be raised against them, on account of the bad behaviour of several regiments,

both horse and foot, in their service. One Appius, Colonel-Commandant of the regiment of Hesse Humberg, rode off upon the spur to Ath, with the greatest part of his men, in the very beginning of the action, and with an impudent folly, equal to his cowardice, wrote from thence to his masters that the allied army had engaged the French, and been totally cut to pieces, except that part which he had prudently brought off safe. I hope after the loss of so much gallant blood, exemplary justice will be done upon the guilty. 1745.

Lord Chesterfield returned last Saturday from Holland, and looks much better in his health than when he left us: eating, negociating, and the fat air of the country, agree with him. He has concluded a treaty regulating the contingents of force and expense for this campaign. I wish it could have been for the whole war. The States agree to bring 52,000 men into the field (including their corps on the Lower Rhine) to our 40,000. In sieges they are to furnish one third, and we the rest. The expense of the land carriage of artillery is to be borne by the government in Flanders. I take it for granted they could be brought to no more, though it is a most unaccountable thing that we should be at so much trouble to persuade them into what is absolutely requisite for their own security and independence. Have you seen my Lord's speech at taking leave? It is quite calculated for the language it is writ in, and makes but an indifferent figure in English. The thoughts are common, and yet he strains hard to give them an air of novelty; and the quaintness of the expression is quite *à la Française*. You may observe it is intended to steer wide of the alert, and military, and invective turn which reigns through Lord Stair's harangue; and so far was prudent.

Besides the three regiments of Mordaunt, Rice, and Handasyde, there is a draught of 540 men, 15 per company, made out of the Guards, which embarked on Sunday for Flanders. With these reinforcements, and what the Dutch are sending, we hope to look the enemy once more in the face; and if Tournay does but hold out, some attempt will be made, either by diversion or attack, to raise the siege.

1745. Martin is returned as usual, *re infectâ*. People imagined he was gone to the Leeward Islands, in search of Caylus, who threatens to invade Nevis and St. Kitt's, where I doubt we are weak. There is an expectation that the Elector of Cologne will join his troops to D'Aremberg. If he does, and Bathiany's come down to the Rhine, we trust Monsieur le Prince must leave the coast clear, and that Smessart's corps, at least, may be detached for Flanders.—You see, Sir, we follow the Roman *ne cede malis sed contra audentior ito*, and really people are less dispirited with this than I expected, and full of encomiums on the gallant spirit which has shown itself in our officers and private men.

And now, Sir, I must heartily beg your pardon for this long letter—I should rather call it dispatch. This I promise you, not to trouble you with one so long in haste, for I am naturally a lazy correspondent; but when the scribbling fit is upon me, it is as difficult to leave off as it was uneasy to begin. One question let me put to you, and then I have done. Why are you quite immersed *in re rustica?* Put your papers in order; write some memoirs for the instruction of your friends, or, if you will, posterity, of your own negociations and Lord Orford's ministry. Methinks I should be loath to go down to future times either pourtrayed with all the features of deformity which Lord Bolingbroke's pen can give, or what is as bad, daubed over with the sign-post colouring of the Gazetteers. But I run on insensibly, and you will excuse my freedom as the strongest proof that I can give you of the regard wherewith I am, &c.

P. Yorke.

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## HON. PHILIP YORKE TO HORACE WALPOLE (THE ELDER).

*London, May* 27. 1745.

Dear Sir,

Before I leave the town, and consequently the fittest field for a correspondence which is not a mere idle one, I cannot help acquainting you with a very astonishing piece of treachery,

which is but too true, and which has occasioned the so early surrender of Tournay: — Mons. Hertsell, a principal engineer in the Dutch service, and who was chiefly relied upon for the defence of the place, having been gained over by the French, made his escape to their camp the third day of the siege, and has assisted them with his advice and information in carrying on their approaches. He took off with him two persons who had the care of the sluices, which they had so spoilt, before they deserted, that the Dutch had, in many places, no water at all in it. It is likewise thought that the blowing up a powder magazine, with good part of a Dutch regiment, was owing to the trains this traitor had laid before he went off. In order to disguise for some time the black contrivance, Van Hoey writ his master a Canterbury tale he had picked up at Paris, that some Frenchmen, fishing in the Scheldt, had found a dead body, which was taken up and judged for that of the above-mentioned engineer. Every body is much shocked and surprised at this perfidy in a man at the top of his profession, and esteemed as well honest as able. Perhaps you may have heard of his name (if I do not mistake it) in the last war, for both Lords Cobham and Stair say they remember him; neither is the governor's conduct approved in consenting to receive the sick and wounded into the citadel, which must create a great and useless consumption of provision, and I am afraid the supplies in it are not near sufficient for the subsistence of so numerous a garrison. Our military men say Monsieur Dort should have retired into the citadel, and left the *bouches inutiles* to the French mercy, which God knows our poor countrymen have found to be that of the wicked, which David says is cruel. Tournay, if well defended and provided, would hold the enemy at bay a whole summer, but I wish, in the present instance, it may find them work for three weeks longer. Upon receiving the news of the town's being surrendered, the States sat extraordinarily from eight in the morning till night, and, I hear, sent the governor orders to hold out to the last. Surely their old spirit has quite left them, as well as their old politics, or they could not see France making such large paces towards the conquest of Flanders, without

1745.

1745. exerting their whole force, and straining every nerve to oppose her progress. It was monstrous not to have even half the quota which they have agreed to bring into the field actually there: when the battle was fought, the whole confederate army, according to the best accounts I have seen, consisted of 46 battalions, and 73 squadrons, making in all 33,000 effective men; the French, of 102 battalions and 149 squadrons, making 60,000, a terrible disproportion, considering, at the same time, how advantageously they were posted, and lined with so many batteries. We have had few particular accounts of the action: some of those first dispatched were stopped on the other side of the water, and the officers write with caution and reserve. It is whispered about, that Prince Waldeck pushed us into this desperate attempt: the best thing that can be said for it now it is over here is, that our Johns love fighting for their money, and that there was no other chance for raising the siege.

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## EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO MR. DAVID MALLET.

*Dublin Castle, November* 27. 1745.

SIR,

I HAVE just now received the favour of your letter of the 20th, which adds to my shame, for not having sooner acknowledged your former. The truth is, that the business of this place, such as it is, is continual; and as I am resolved to do it while I am here, it leaves me little or no time to do things I should like much better: assuring you of my regard and friendship is one of those things, but though one of the most agreeable, I believe the least necessary.

I cannot comprehend the consternation which 8,000 of your countrymen have, I find, thrown seven millions of mine into; I, who at this distance, see things only in their plain natural light, am, I confess, under no apprehensions; I consider a Highlander

(with submission to you) as Rowe does a Lord, who, when opposed to a man, he affirms to be but a man; from which principle I make this inference, that 49,000 must beat 8,000; not to mention our sixteen new regiments, which must go for something, though in my opinion not for much. I have with much difficulty quieted the fears here, which were at first very strong, partly by contagion from England, and partly from old prejudices, which my good subjects are far from being yet above. They are in general still at the year 1689, and have not shook off any religious or political prejudice that prevailed at that time. However, I am very glad I am among them; for in this little sphere, a little may do a great deal of good, but in England they must be much stronger shoulders than mine that can do any good at that bulky machine. Pray let me hear from you as often and as minutely as you have leisure; most correspondents, like most very learned men, suppose that one knows more than one does, and therefore don't tell one half what they could, so one never knows so much as one should. 1746.

I am, &c.

CHESTERFIELD.

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## ABSTRACT OF THE EXAMINATION OF MR. MURRAY, OF BROUGHTON, BEFORE THE SECRET COMMITTEE, AUGUST 13. 1746.

[From the papers of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.]

LORD TRAQUAIR acquainted him in the beginning of 1743, that in 1740 an association was signed by the seven following persons, in favour of the Pretender, namely, Lord Traquair himself, the late Lord Perth, Lord John Drummond, uncle to the late Lord Perth, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Lord Lovat, young Lochiel, and Mr. John Stuart, brother to Lord Traquair.

1746. This paper was sent to Rome by Drummond, alias Macgregor*, who carried at the same time a memorial to the Cardinal de Fleury, with a list of the Highland chiefs that were thought well affected to the Pretender. Amongst them were the names of Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod. Drummond, on his return to Scotland in 1741–2, acquainted Lord Traquair and the rest, that the Cardinal had received him very graciously, and promised, on encouragement from England, to send troops into Scotland, in autumn, 1742. Lord Traquair was employed in London to get this encouragement, and told the examinant afterwards, that the principal persons he had conversed with on the subject, were Sir John Hinde Cotton, Sir Watkin Wynn, and Lord Barrymore; that Dr. Barry, Colonel Cecil, and Colonel Brett were concerned as agents.

In March or April, 1743, the examinant was prevailed with, by Lord Traquair and Lochiel, to undertake a journey to Paris, in order to see whether the French assurances were to be depended on. During the short abode he made by the way in town, he talked with no Englishman whatever on the Pretender's affairs. When he arrived in France, he was introduced by Drummond and Sempill to Cardinal Tencin and M. Amelot, to whom he opened his commission, and the latter told him his master had the Pretender's interest much at heart, and would take the first opportunity of assisting him. The examinant came back to Edinburgh in the summer, and made a report of what had passed to the persons above mentioned. The scheme was, that 3,000 French were to be sent to Scotland, 1,500 to land at Inverness, and as many in the Western Highlands, and to be joined by the disaffected clans in those parts. At the same time, Marshal Saxe was to make a descent with 12,000 men near London.

About this time Drummond was a few days in London, and had meetings with Sir J. H. Cotton, W. Wynn, and Lord Barrymore, in relation to these matters, which, after the invasion was disappointed, slept awhile, till, in June, 1744, the examinant was

* Of Bohaldie.

persuaded by Lord Traquair to make a second journey to France, which he agreed to, took our army in his way, and had frequent conversations at Paris with the young Pretender, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Lord Elcho, Drummond, and Sempill. The young Pretender made no doubt of being supported by the French Court, but told him he would come though he brought but a single footman. 1746.

The examinant, on his return to Edinburgh, reconsidered the whole matter with Lord Traquair, Lochiel, and Lord Perth. The two former thought it a rash enterprise; the latter had a better opinion of it. The Laird of Macleod declared that, though he looked upon it as a desperate scheme, he would join the Pretender if he came, and he informed Murray, in April, 1745, that the Jacobites in England were well disposed, but against stirring, unless France would assist them.

The first notice which the examinant received of the young Pretender's resolution to set out for Scotland, was in June, 1745, upon which he acquainted Lochiel and Macleod with it, who both disapproved it, as rash and unseasonable, and encouraged the examinant to write dissuasive letters, which he did accordingly, but they came too late: the young Pretender landed at Arisaig, and Mr. Murray joined him, and acted as his Secretary. He knows of no letters being sent into England, but one to Lord Barrymore from Perth, written with the young Pretender's own hand. Sir Thomas Sheridan told him he had sent Hickson to talk with people in the north, but named nobody. He knows of no letters received from persons not in arms, except Lord Lovat. He was not acquainted with Sir James Stewart's negociation at Versailles, nor with Lord Clancarty's message to France in August last. He says Sheridan was the person in principal confidence with the young Pretender, who had the correspondence with France entirely in his hands. To the best of his knowledge there was no money remitted from England to the young Pretender, and, during the whole time of their being in England, they received no message nor application from any person in it, which vexed them extremely. He does not know that anybody about the Pretender had any dependence on the

1746. late Provost, nor is he acquainted with the private correspondences they might have in Edinburgh. He recollects that during the siege of Stirling Castle, Sir John Douglas came to Bannockburn, and was introduced privately to him in his chamber, that is, he was obliged to go to Stirling. Sir John was carried to his audience of the young Pretender, by Sheridan, and only told him (Murray), in general at his return, that he had a message from the Pretender's friends in England, that 10,000*l.* was deposited in London for his use, and that a messenger was setting out for France when he left it; Sir John did not tell him by whom the message was sent to France, but he concluded it was by the persons above mentioned.

At Derby, the young Pretender was singly of opinion for marching on to London, against the advice of the whole council of war; but the examinant advised him to submit to the general sense of his officers. He does not believe the rebels were above 5,000 men at Derby. They had little or no intelligence from any quarter whilst they were in England. He has heard the Duke of Beaufort named by the Pretender's friends as one that wished them well; but he does not know of any person that corresponded with him. After the battle of Culloden, Macdonald of Lochgarry offered to lie in wait for the Duke, between Fort Augustus and Fort William, and shoot him, but the young Pretender absolutely forbade him to attempt any such thing.

The declaration of the 10th of October, 1745, was drawn up by Sheridan and Sir James Stewart.

Being shown two letters, dated Paris, one signed Drummond Macgregor, and the other G. Kelly, he acknowledged both their hands, and recollected that the first had been read over to him by Sheridan. He also said, to the best of his remembrance, the deciphering of the names over the figures was in Sheridan's hand.

These two letters are most remarkable ones, and were found amongst the papers taken at Culloden; but where, or in what manner, I can give no account. The first was written not long after the battle of Gladsmuir, and before the march into England. The writer speaks sanguinely of the French having a real intention

to support the young Pretender's cause, and says he had taken great pains to persuade his friends in England to declare themselves; that he had, from the beginning, corresponded with the principal of them, who were connected with and trusted by all the Royalists in the kingdom, such as the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Orrery, Sir W. Wynn, Sir J. H. Cotton, and Lord Barrymore, that the latter was much relied on, and a great deal left to his management; that he did not doubt but, as soon as the young Pretender had made any advances in England, and shown his friends there an army able to protect them, they would flock to his standard from all quarters. He mentions his long and painful adherence to the Jacobite cause; that he was now worn out with age and infirmities, but could have wished to have ended his life gloriously in the field, fighting with the rest of his gallant countrymen in defence of his lawful prince and the liberties of Scotland. I think this letter is addressed to the young Pretender himself. 1746.

The other is a despatch to Sheridan from Kelly, who was sent to France after the taking of Edinburgh, to represent the state of the Pretender's affairs in Scotland, and solicit succours. After mentioning the narrow escape he had from being seized at Camp Veer*, by the consul there, he proceeds to give an account of the conferences he had with the French ministry upon his arrival, and how strongly he had represented the necessity of their making a speedy diversion in favour of the Pretender, by a descent upon the south. He relates the particular answers he received from Marshal Noailles, the D'Argensons, and Mons. Maurepas; but the most remarkable passage is what fell from Cardinal Tencin, who expressed himself very hearty in the Pretender's interests, but complained of the backwardness of the Pretender's friends in England to appear in arms for him, and insisted that, before the embarkation then in hand was completed, Sir J. H. Cotton should give up his place, and that when his resignation was published in the Gazette, he (the Cardinal) should consider it as a sufficient pledge

* Camp Veer, in Zealand.

1748. for his master to send his troops upon. To which Kelly answered, that it was not reasonable to expect arising of the Jacobites here till they saw an army capable of protecting them in the island; and as to Sir J. H. Cotton, his Eminence should reflect how hazardous it would be for him to resign at this juncture, since the moment after he would be sent to the Tower.

I can recollect nothing else material in the letter. Mr. Kelly flourishes a little on the esteem and affection professed by every body at Paris for the young Pretender; and compliments Sheridan on the credit he had acquired by his conduct.

These letters were read over to us at the Secret Committee, when the drawing up a Report on the Rebellion was under consideration; but for what reasons I do not well know, it was afterwards laid aside. I have reason to think, that the moderation of Mr. Pelham, and the Cabinet Ministers, then satisfied with having brought the leaders of the Rebellion to the block, and having the rest at mercy, did not choose to push inquiries further. The Tories at first seemed very angry with us for letting the names of Sir Watkin, &c. slip out of Murray's mouth; and Prowse*, a Tory, but no Jacobite, asked Speaker Onslow, if some notice ought not to be taken of it in the House. Mr. Onslow intimated that he believed the parties concerned would not choose it. Prowse replied "That I cannot help; others know themselves best."

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## EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO MR. DAVID MALLET.

*Bath, March* 9. 1748.

SIR,

I AM very much concerned at the continuance of your complaint, and am afraid that you increased it by the letter which you favoured me with. I shall put your eyes to that trial no

* Mr. Prowse was M.P. for Somersetshire.

more of a good while at least, for I shall be in town next Monday or Tuesday, and I hope for the rest of my life, except now and then a little excursion to this place, which always does me good. I can say to you now, without a compliment, what I could not with truth have said to you some years ago, which is, that I do not know a pair of eyes in which I interest myself so much as I do in yours. I use the word, "interest," here very properly, for it is from the use of your eyes that I expect the best employment for my own. 1748.

By this time I suppose that I am a little out of fashion, as a subject of political refinements; and that new matter has shoved me off the coffee-house tables. I own I should not have been sorry to have heard, unseen, the various speculations thrown out, and facts asserted concerning myself of late; which I dare say were full as near the truth, as those will be, which some solid historians of these times will transmit to posterity. Not one of them will allow the desire of ease and quiet to have had the least share in my determination; but on the contrary will assert that it was only the pretence of disappointed ambition. Lord Chesterfield would be Cæsar or nothing, says a spirited politician; there is something more in this affair than we yet know, says a deeper; he expects to be called again, says a third; while the silent pantomimical politician shrugs at every thing eventually, and is sure not to be disproved at last. They are all welcome; let them account for my present situation how they please, this I know, and they do not, that I feel and enjoy the comfort of it.

Before I left London I spoke to Mr. Pelham concerning you; he told me that he had been exceedingly pressed by Lyttleton in favour of Thomson and West. I answered that I had a great value for them both, and should be extremely sorry to hurt either, but they had already something, and could therefore, in my opinion, better wait a little than you. Our conversation ended, as all those conversations do, with general assurances on his part, that he would do for you when he could. None but he who gives these assurances can know the real value of them; for he could not say more if he meant to realize them, and he

1748. would not say less if he did not: all that I can say is, that he shall not want a remembrancer. The situation of your affairs makes me only more anxious, but not more desirous to serve you than I was before; as it was your merit, which I did know, and not your circumstances, which I did not know, that made me, what I ever shall be,

Your most faithful friend and servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

THE END.

LONDON:
Printed by A. SPOTTISWOODE,
New-Street-Square.

FAC-SIMILE AUTOGRAPH OF JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD STUART (CALLED THE OLD CHEVALIER) FROM THE STUART PAPERS.

Plate 1.

Rebshead Dec. 22. 1715.

I am at last thank God in my own ancient [illegible]dom
as the bearer will tell you with all the particulars
of my passage, & his own proposals of future service —
Send the queen the news I have got, & give a bribe to
the right en attendant that bind you from the army
a letter from our friends to whom I am going tomorrow —
I find things in a prosperous way & hope all will go well —
If friends on your side do their part as I ~~[illegible]~~ have —
done mine. my compliments to magny tell him
the good news I want with to him for I am weary &
wont delay a moment the bearer.

This letter is printed in Appendix, Vol. I.

C.J. Smith Fac-simile fecit.

John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, 1838.

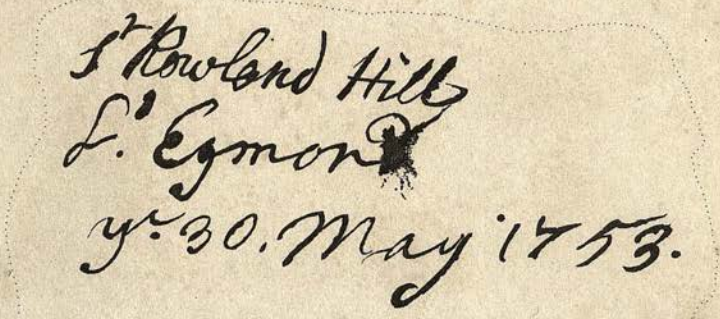
FAC-SIMILE OF THE AUTOGRAPH OF CHARLES EDWARD STUART; (CALLED THE YOUNG CHEVALIER) FROM THE STUART PAPERS.

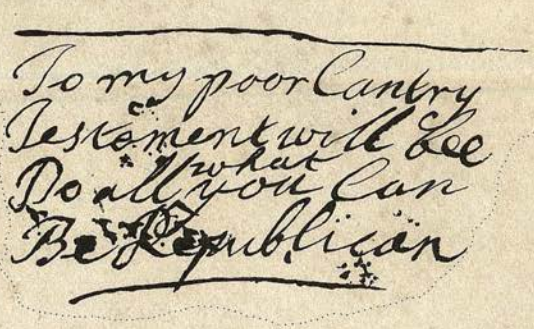
Sir I have charged Sr. Gems Stuard to
Carry this as far as Paris, and to forward
it immediatly by a Courier to yr. Majesty,
I am thank God
in perfect good health, but still in ye.
usual anctciety for want of Letters
to which there is no help but Patience
I Lay myself at yr. Majestys Feet Moste
humbly asking Blessing and remaining
with the profoundests Respect your Moste
Edingburg ye. 22d Octbr. O.S.
1745
Dutifull Son
Charles. P.

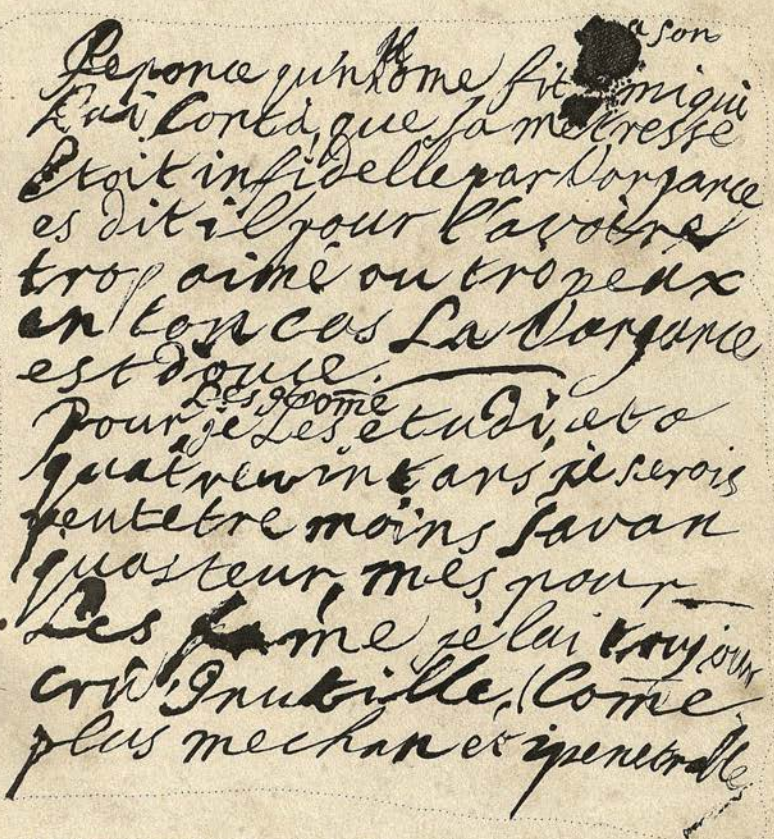
This entire letter is printed in Appendix, Vol. III.

C. J. Smith. Fac-simile fecit.

John Murray, Albemarle Str. London. 1838.





Reponce qu'un Rome fit a son
Ami Conte que sa maitresse
Etoit infidelle par Vergance
es dit il pour Lavoire
trop aime ou trop peu x
en tences La Vergance
est douce
Pour je Les etudi ebo
quatre vingt ans je serois
peut etre moins Savan
quasteur mes pour
Les Rome je lai trouv ou
cru Inutille, Come
plus mechan et ignorand

*This last fragment is printed in Appendix Vol. III. It was found among the papers of the date of 1775–80.*

*C. J. Smith, Fac-simile Facit.*

*John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1838.*

JAMES AND CLEMENTINA.
1720.

CHARLES EDWARD.
1750.

CARDINAL OF YORK.
1766.

*Bates Sidest. Anaxylographs*
*Engraved by Freeburn*

Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, 1838.

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